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THE RIVER ST. JOHN




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SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

[From Hamel's Painting

# *The River St. John*



*Its Physical Features  
Legends and History  
from 1604 to 1784*



*Rev. Wm. O. Raymond  
LL.D., F.R.S.C.*

*Printed by The Strathmore Press and  
Published by John A. Bowes, St. John,  
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## PREFACE.

*It is now nearly twenty years since the writer of this book undertook the preparation of a series of papers dealing with the early history of the River Saint John. These papers first saw the light in the Saturday edition of the St. John Daily Telegraph. The primary object of their publication was to awaken an interest in the approaching celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the River by De Monts and Champlain. The papers were afterwards printed in book form. The first edition was soon disposed of and is now out of print.*

*The present edition will be found to differ materially from the former. The book has been entirely rewritten and a good deal which appeared of minor interest has been eliminated and new material introduced in its stead. The opening chapters, descriptive of the River from its source in northern Maine to its outlet in the Bay of Fundy, have been added. The story of the coming of the Loyalists is told with greater fulness, and the added chapters dealing with this important event will undoubtedly be deemed by many readers the most interesting part of the book. The period covered begins with the discovery of the River in 1604 by Champlain and De Monts and ends with the division of the old provinces of Nova Scotia in 1784, and the establishment of the province of New Brunswick. The very full index appended will render the work a handy book of reference.*

W. O. R.



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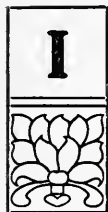


# THE RIVER ST. JOHN

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## CHAPTER I.

Source of the St. John — Most Important River South of the St. Lawrence — The Upper River and Its Tributaries — The Grand Falls, Its Wells and Gorge — Indian Highway Between the St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy — Made International by the Ashburton Treaty.



IT has been said, with truth, that the history of human civilization has been determined and controlled by great rivers. Throughout antiquity and down to recent times they formed the main arteries of travel and traffic. Along their water-ways traders spread their sails and plied their oars. On river banks or estuaries the oldest and statliest cities of the world have grown up.

To the early explorer the discovery of a navigable river was a matter of importance. It afforded an opportunity to penetrate into the country and so to learn more of its resources. Moreover a river of the magnitude of the St. John, was sure to be the haunt of some of the many aboriginal tribes with whom a profitable trade in furs and peltries might be established, or who might point the way to hidden treasures.

There are many reasons why the people of New Brunswick are proud of their noble River St. John.

Along the eastern coast of North America, between the mouth of the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico, at

least a dozen well known and important rivers pour their waters into the bosom of the Atlantic. Our neighbors of the State of Maine unite with us in the possession of the St. Croix and have besides two fine rivers of their own in the Penobscot and the Kennebec. Four of the States of New England unite to produce a still larger river, the Connecticut. New York and New Jersey glory in their far-famed Hudson ; and as we go on to the South we have in order the Delaware, the Potomac and the Susquehannah. But of all the rivers along this vast extent of seaboard the St. John is the largest and in its natural features the most notable. Therefore, before we enter upon the story of the discovery of the St. John or speak of the leading incidents in its history, a short description of the river itself is in order.

There are yet to be found on the Upper St. John tracts of unbroken wilderness, far removed from the haunts of men, that afford their infrequent visitor a glimpse of the country as it was in the days of Champlain. We shall at the outset have something to say of this region.

From its source in northern Maine to its outlet in the Bay of Fundy the river flows a distance of four hundred and fifty miles. The extent of territory drained by it is estimated at 26,000 square miles, an area not much less than that of the entire province of New Brunswick and considerably larger than Nova Scotia. Twenty-five counties contribute to its waters, namely, Aroostook, Somerset, Piscataquis and Penobscot in Maine, Dorchester, Bellechasse, Montmagny, L'Islet, Kamouraska, Temiscouata and Rimouski in Quebec, and every county in New Brunswick except Gloucester.

No river on the Atlantic seaboard, south of the St. Lawrence, has such magnificent reaches and lakelike expansions as the St. John or can compare with it in the extent of navigable water. On the lower St. John the depth of the water is in places more than two hundred feet, and at least an equal depth is found in Lake Temiscouata, 280 miles from the sea. Among the topographical features worthy of note are the remarkable "reversing falls" at its mouth, the diversity of the scenery as we ascend the river and the magnificent cataract of the Grand Falls two hundred and twenty miles from the sea. To those of a scientific turn there is a still further source of interest in the remarkable vicissitudes through which the river has passed in geological ages. Our local scientists, Messrs. Bailey, Matthew and Ganong have written quite fully on this head.

A glance at the map will suffice to show the remarkable character of the reaches of the lower St. John, which occupy a series of depressions, or troughs, parallel to each other and to the greater trough of the Bay of Fundy. These parallel depressions are occupied by the waters of (*a*) Kennebecasis Bay and River, (*b*) the Long Reach and its extension into Bellisle Bay, (*c*) the Washademoak River, (*d*) the Jemseg and Grand Lake. The general trend of the river valleys of New Brunswick was originally in an easterly direction to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The Richibucto, Miramichi, Nepisiquit and Restigouche, which still flow in that direction, have in the course of ages been robbed of their head waters by the St. John. This river, we are told, has proved a veritable pirate, gradually working farther and farther back at its head, aided in its piracy by successive

movements of the earth's crust producing depressions, known as "faults" and "cross-faults," thus enabling the river to carve out new channels.

In this way the Miramichi (once larger than the St. John) was unfairly robbed of its head waters. The mighty Restigouche of ancient days received like treatment at a period somewhat later, for, according to one of our leading geologists, that part of the River St. John which at Edmundston turns westward to its source two hundred miles away in northern Maine once flowed down the channel of the Restigouche to the Bay of Chaleur. It continued to do so until it was tapped by the St. John and led to seek another outlet in the Bay of Fundy.

The St. John truly has been most erratic in its proceedings, wandering from one valley to another across the natural rock formations of the province. At some of the places where it has broken through, falls or rapids yet exist, once more formidable than they are today having been worn down by erosion. Little Falls (at Edmundston), Grand Falls, the Meductic Falls, and the Falls at St. John are examples.

The character and volume of the river varied in geological ages with alternating periods of elevation and depression of the surface of the country. It is quite certain that at one time the valley of the lower St. John had an elevation much higher than it has today. Consequently the channel extended some distance out into the Bay. This channel is still readily traced, and soundings indicate that there was a considerable waterfall in the vicinity of Partridge Island, where perhaps the water once fell over an escarpment into the sea. The southern coast of New Brunswick is still sinking

and in consequence the lower St. John is to some extent a "drowned river." There was a time, subsequent to the glacial period, when the water of the river found an outlet to the eastward of the City of St. John by way of Drury's Cove and the Marsh into Courtenay Bay.

The River St. John takes its rise in a wilderness region north of the head waters of the Penobscot in Maine, not very far from the international boundary. The surrounding forest abounds with moose, deer, caribou and beaver.

From its source in some small scattered ponds the river runs twenty-five miles in a northerly direction over a boulder strewn bed, varied here and there by dead-waters, where the stream becomes torturous and deep and the current almost imperceptible in the summer. It then unites with another considerable stream of nearly equal size, the Boundary Branch—so called from its forming for some distance the boundary between Canada and the United States. Twelve miles further the Daaquam comes from the north-west. The head waters of this stream extend to the St. Lawrence watershed beyond the international boundary. Some of the best lumber of the Upper St. John is cut in this region. Twenty-five miles below we come to the most remote settlement on the river, established about seventy-five years ago at a place called Seven Islands. There are here a number of large and comfortable farms and the people have communication by a road, none too good, which leads to St. Pamphile in the Province of Quebec. Thus far the river is not large and in mid-summer the water falls to so low a pitch that navigation is difficult. even with canoes.

From Seven Islands to the Allagash the river is in places very rocky and turbulent; there are two very dangerous rapids and many smaller ones. Yet in spite of these obstacles heavy tow-boats, laden with horses, hay and lumbermen's supplies ascend the stream, when the water is at medium height, to the timber tracts above. Heavy horses used to wading over the roughest river bottom supply the motive power, and experienced hands keep the boats in the proper channel. The names of the tributary streams in common use in this section are in some cases of Indian origin, as Chemquassabamticook. In other instances they have been given by the lumbermen and are, as usual in such cases, mostly descriptive — Big Black River and Little Black River are examples. Lac de L'Est, at the source of the Chemquassabamticook, teems with mammoth trout and touladi.

About 135 miles from its source and 315 from the sea, the St. John receives its first large tributary, the Allagash, the volume of whose waters, is perhaps two thirds that of the main river itself. The Allagash has a drainage area of about 1,450 square miles. Of late years the course of nature has been somewhat interfered with as regards this stream, to the advantage of the Penobscot and to the disadvantage of the St. John. In explanation it may be stated that a party of American lumbermen, many years ago, built a dam below the outlet of Chamberlain Lake, by means of which and a canal connecting the lake with Webster Brook, a vast body of water was turned into the east branch of the Penobscot, which would otherwise have found its way into the St. John. A dam was also built by the same agency below Churchill Lake, (see map) which stemmed the natural course of an

immense body of water and turned it into the Penobscot. This dam was destroyed by a party of men in the employ of John Glasier of Fredericton, and so great was the volume of water discharged, that the St. John is said to have risen three feet at the Grand Falls, one hundred and sixty-five miles away.

Speaking of the Allagash, Mr. Bailey\* observes : " This river is more picturesque, and in every way more attractive than the main St. John is above it : the waters abound with fish ; the neighbouring forests with moose, deer and caribou. Beaver are found in the small tributary brooks." Over one hundred lakes and ponds pay tribute to the Allagash, of which Chamberlain Lake is much the largest. The lower part of the Allagash affords excellent canoeing, but at a distance of twelve miles from its mouth a fall of water nearly thirty feet in height is encountered. This ranks next to the Grand Falls among the cataracts on the St. John and its tributaries.

The St. John, as a really large river, may be said to commence at its junction with the Allagash. From here, too, the banks of the river are fairly well settled with English speaking inhabitants. Lively rapids occur at intervals between the Allagash and the St. Francis, twelve miles below.

The St. Francis is a famous river for sportsmen. Its source, in a lake of the same name, is only twelve miles from the St. Lawrence. This fact caused the river to be used by travellers from Quebec to Port Royal

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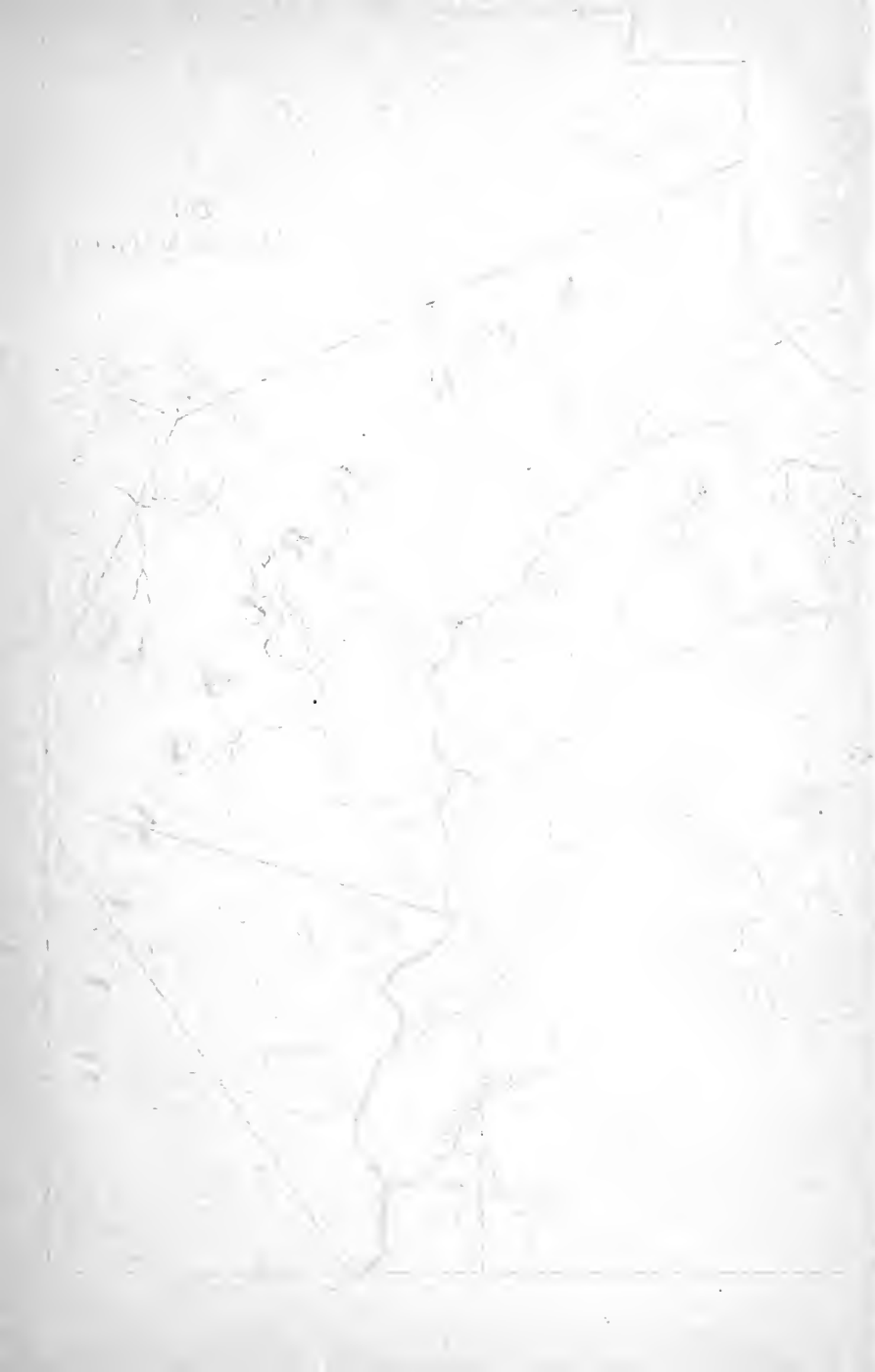
\* In 1894, Mr. J. W. Bailey published a most interesting book on "The St. John River, in Maine, Quebec and New Brunswick," embodying the results of his personal observations in the many visits he has paid to the head waters of the St. John. The writer is indebted to Mr. Bailey for much of the information contained in this chapter. W. O. R.

in the days of the 17th century. Bishop St. Vallier describes in entertaining fashion his trip down this river in 1686. From Boundary Lake, to its mouth, a distance of forty miles, the St. Francis forms the international boundary. Beau Lake on the St. Francis is a beautiful sheet of water nine miles long and having in one place a depth of 150 feet. Glasier Lake, to which the Indians have given the formidable name of Woolastookpectagomic, has nearly an equal depth. The entire river may be described as a series of beautiful lakes and ponds linked together by very lively waterways.

After flowing in a northeasterly direction for a distance of one hundred and forty-five miles through northern Maine, the St. John reaches New Brunswick and forms the international boundary from the mouth of the St. Francis nearly to the Grand Falls, a distance of seventy miles. Its course meanwhile gradually changes from north-east to south-east. This is one of the most picturesque parts of the river. On either side are broad intervals bordered by magnificent elms, and there are many fertile islands. The banks of the river are well cultivated by the inhabitants, who are almost entirely French.

At Fort Kent, eighteen miles below the St. Francis, the Great Fish River enters the St. John from the south. This river drains nearly a thousand square miles of territory and is ninety-five miles in length. Like the Allagash it has an immense number of lakes, some of them of large size. There was once a fine waterfall at the mouth of this stream. A milldam has since been built and extensive milling operations have for years been carried on.

Another eighteen miles farther down the St. John and we reach the mouth of Madawaska. The village

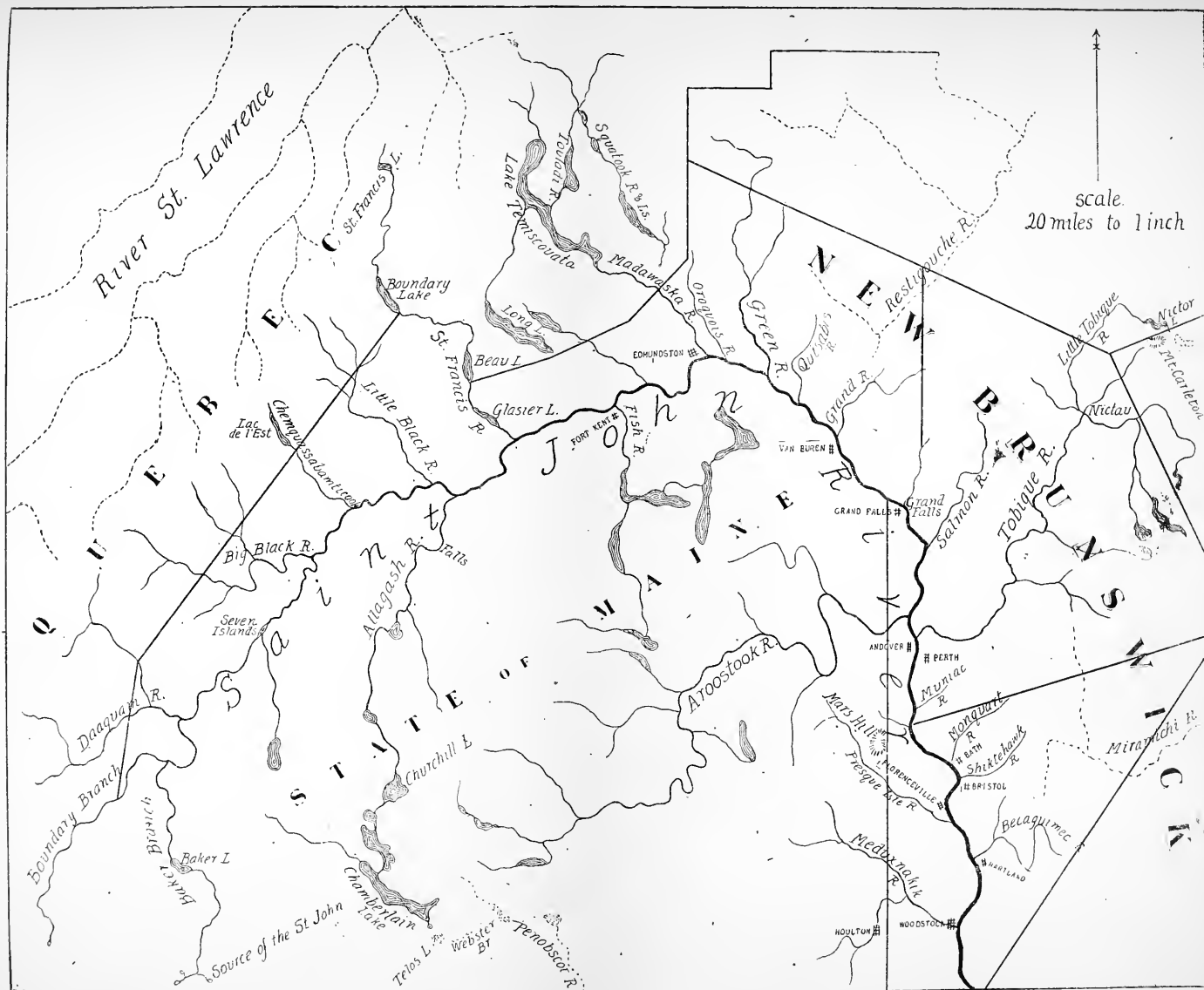


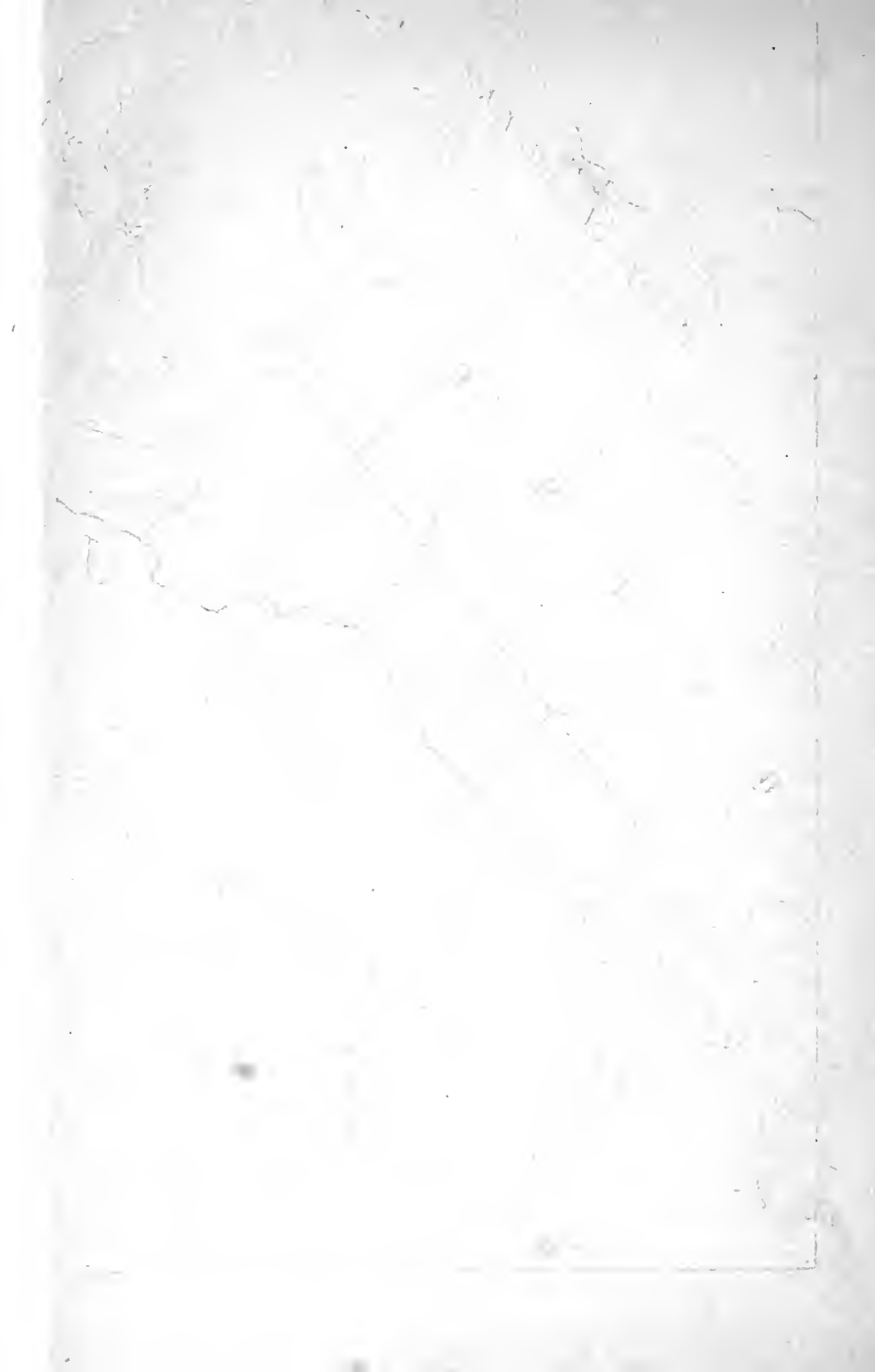
in the days of the 17th century. Bishop St. Vallier describes in entertaining fashion his trip down this river in 1686. From Boundary Lake, to its mouth, a distance of forty miles, the St. Francis forms the international boundary. Beau Lake on the St. Francis is a beautiful sheet of water nine miles long and having in one place a depth of 150 feet. Glasier Lake, to which the Indians have given the formidable name of Woolastookpectagomic, has nearly an equal depth. The entire river may be described as a series of beautiful lakes and ponds linked together by very lively waterways.

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here, long known as "Little Falls," has grown into the town of Edmundston. This flourishing little town of perhaps 1,800 people is a well-known rendezvous for fishermen and hunters being a convenient starting point for the neighboring sporting grounds. The St. Francis, Temiscouata, and Canadian Pacific Railways have here their termini. Much has been written in praise of the Madawaska, but the references in these pages must of necessity be brief. The sportsman and tourist will find in any New Brunswick guide book such information as is needed concerning the wealth of the attractions of this beautiful river in all its labyrinthine courses. Its total length is one hundred and ten miles, and in drainage area it ranks fifth among the tributaries of the St. John. Half way between the mouth of the river and Lake Temiscouata a well known portage of about five miles leads easterly to Beardsley Brook, where the canoeist can embark for a down-stream paddle of seventy-five miles, proceeding through the Squatook River and lakes, the Touladi River and lakes into Lake Temiscouata and thence down the Madawaska to his starting point. The Squatook is described as a surpassingly attractive stream, having pure, clear water, teeming with fish, exciting rapids and beautiful lakes. Lake Temiscouata, twenty-two miles from the mouth of the Madawaska, is twenty-eight miles long and is much the deepest lake of the St. John River system. Throughout its lower and central portions it has a depth of about two hundred feet. For a distance of two miles below the lake the Madawaska does not freeze, even in the coldest weather and from this circumstance the village at this place is appropriately known as *Dégelé*. As it descends, the Madawaska flows with tranquil current through a well

settled country. Near its mouth are the rapids which gave to Edmundston its former name of "Little Falls." The French habitants still use the term *Petit Saut* in speaking of Edmundston.

In prehistoric days the Madawaska doubtless formed an important link in the route of communication between the native tribes of Canada and those of Acadia. Early French explorers and adventurers soon became familiar with the route. In Champlain's map of 1612 we find crude indications of Lake Temisconata, but it is not until the Franquelin map of 1686 that the name of "Madoueska" appears. The name occurs a little earlier in a grant made in 1683 of the seigniory of Madoueska to Antoine and Margurite Aubert, children of the *Sieur de Chesnaye* of Quebec. The boundary between New Brunswick and the Province of Quebec, where it crosses the Madawaska, follows the southern boundary of this old seigniory.

In the course of the prolonged conflict between England and France for supremacy in America, war parties of the French and Indians were constantly passing between Canada and Acadia by way of the River St. John and couriers were often sent from Quebec to Port Royal, Beauséjour and Louisburg. It is said that with the water at freshet height the Indians were able to deliver messages from the Governor at Quebec to the commander at the mouth of the River St. John in five days, a distance of 430 miles. That this was easily possible is shown by the fact that some years ago the Messrs. Straton of Fredericton paddled in a bark canoe from the Grand Falls to Fredericton, 133 miles, in 14 hours and 46 minutes, making a short stop at Woodstock on the way. Short distances have been covered at much greater rates of speed.

When the Province of New Brunswick was established in 1784, Governor Carleton and his Council agreed that it was inadvisable to interrupt the continuity of the settlement of the lower St. John by English speaking people. They accordingly decided that the Acadians who were living on the River St. John a few miles above Fredericton, and those living at French Village, on the Hammond River in King's County, should be removed to the Madawaska region. The Acadians assented, and being afterwards joined by some French Canadians, became the ancestors of the numerous community that is to be found there today.

The distance from Edmundston to Grand Falls is thirty-six miles. The river flows for the most part, with a sluggish current and in a comparatively narrow channel. The glacial action which filled the old river bed with drift, and created the Grand Falls, has stemmed back the water to Van Buren, a distance of twelve miles, giving the channel a depth of from fifteen to thirty feet.

Rather more than sixty years ago, a small steamboat was placed upon the river between Grand Falls and Little Falls. The enterprise was not a financial success and the boat was dismantled by her owner and, with some difficulty, carried around the Grand Falls, refitted and launched upon the river below. The little steamer was at this time the only one on the river that had a steam whistle. As she passed down the river, on her way to St. John, the whistle was freely blown and served to awaken the slumbering forest echoes. Great was the wonder of the country folk. In several instances the sound, so unexampled, created a sensation bordering on consternation. Old residents of Maugerville used to delight in telling their children of the terrible panic

into which a colored lad was thrown, when in the dusk of the evening a fiery monster appeared around a bend in the river, heralding its approach with such unearthly screeching, that the poor boy ran home in a fright to tell the family that "the devil was coming down the river."

At the Grand Falls the river ceases to be the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick and is thenceforth all our own. A river may, at first thought, seem to be a natural and excellent boundary between two nationalities, nevertheless difficulties have from time to time arisen out of the provisions of the boundary treaty arranged by Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster in 1842 as contained in the extract which will be found below.\* [See foot note.]

Between Edmundston and the Grand Falls the following tributary streams enter the St. John, the Oroquois, Green River, Quisbis and Grand River, all New Brunswick waters. Indeed it may be said that,

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\* Section III., Ashburton Treaty of 1842. — "In order to promote the interests and encourage the industry of all the inhabitants of the counties watered by the River St. John and its tributaries, whether living within the State of Maine or the Province of New Brunswick, it is agreed that where by the provisions of the present treaty the River St. John is declared to be the line of boundary, the navigation of the said River shall be free and open to both parties, and shall in no way be obstructed by either. That all the produce of the forest in logs, lumber, timber, boards, staves, or shingles, or of agriculture, not being manufactured, grown on any of those parts of the State of Maine watered by the River St. John or by its tributaries, of which fact reasonable evidence shall if required be produced, shall have free access into and through the said River and its tributaries, having their source within the State of Maine, to and from the seaport at the mouth of the River St. John, and to and from the falls of said River, either by boats, rafts, or by other conveyance. That when within the Province of New Brunswick the said produce shall be dealt with as if it were the produce of the said Province. That in like manner the inhabitants of the territory of the Upper St. John, determined by this treaty to belong to her Britannic Majesty, shall have free access to and through the River for their produce in those parts where the said River runs wholly through the State of Maine: Provided always, that this agreement shall give no right to either party to interfere with any regulations not inconsistent with the terms of the treaty, which the Governments respectively of Maine or New Brunswick may make respecting the navigation of said River where both banks thereof shall belong to the same party."

with the notable exception of Fish River, no considerable stream enters the St. John from the State of Maine between the Allagash and the Aroostook, a distance of at least one hundred miles.

Green River is not one of the larger tributaries of the St. John but is particularly interesting to the sportsman and the tourist. It flows with a remarkably swift current and only an experienced poler is able to ascend in a canoe. According to Mr. J. W. Bailey, Green River excels all other St. John waters for trout, although the mammoth "five-pounder" is not as common as in Temiscouata and the larger lakes.

Grand River, despite its name, is not a very imposing stream. It, however, forms the natural route of communication with the head waters of the Restigouche, and it is not improbable that in geological ages the waters of the St. John followed its valley to their outlet in the Bay of Chaleur. Several distinguished people have crossed the portage between the St. John and the Restigouche, among them Bishop Plessis of Quebec in 1812, and Sir Edmund W. Head and his wife some forty years later. The Lieut.-Governor and his party travelled in log canoes, or dug-outs. They had to go up Grand River sixteen miles, thence one mile up Grand River Waagan, thence three miles over a muddy and rough portage to reach the Restigouche Waagansis (a mere brook), thence down six miles before reaching the main Restigouche. Lady Head's surprise was great on finding a horse and saddle at the landing on Grand River Waagan to carry her across the portage. One who accompanied the party says: "To describe the passage down Restigouche Waagansis would beggar description, the bringing of our

canoes over rocks and old logs, the crouching down flat to pass under overhanging bushes. We however, reached the main Restigouche without any mishap, except hats brushed off our heads, and now and then a stray hair left hanging on the bushes as we passed under them." Bishop Plessis, in his journal, terms the Waagansis "a miserable brook" (*maussade ruisseau*), encumbered with fallen trees and almost hidden by the branches that crossed from one bank to the other, frequently striking the eyes of the voyagers, if they were not constantly on the look out for them. The Governor and Lady Head on their arrival at the hospitable mansion of Squire Ferguson were welcomed by a flotilla of nearly 400 canoes in which were a great number of Indians, all in gala dress, headed by their chief. As soon as the Governor's canoe touched the beach the Indians formed a double line; the canoe was seized on either side by friendly hands and carried in triumph through the double line to the open doorway so that the Governor and his lady had only to step out of their canoe into Mr. Ferguson's house. Cannons and guns roared their best, but the whooping of the joyous and excited Indians could not be drowned by the noise of powder. Such were the difficulties of travel a Royal Governor had to submit to in the olden time.

The magnificent cataract of the Grand Falls is not excelled by any east of the Mississippi, excepting Niagara and possibly one in Labrador. The first description of the Grand Falls extant is contained in a rare book published in Paris in 1688 under the title *Estat present de l'église et de la Colonie Francoise dans la Nouvelle France*. The author, Bishop St. Vallier, gives in the book the story of his tour in Acadia in 1686.

His reference to the Grand Falls is of interest merely as the first of many descriptions of this wonderful natural phenomenon.

“The sixteenth of May,” he writes, “we arrived at the place called *le grand Sault Saint Jean-Baptiste*, where the River St. John falls from a height over lofty rocks into an abyss making a wonderful cascade: the rising mist hides the water from sight, and the uproar of the fall warns from afar the navigators descending in their canoes.”

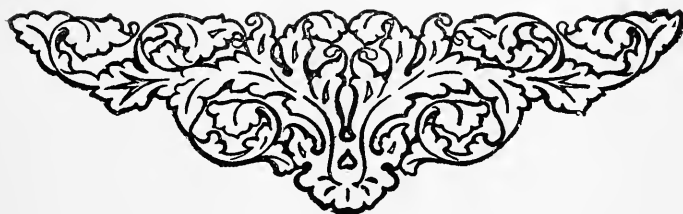
Every traveller should visit the Grand Falls. No description or series of illustrations will suffice to give a just idea of their majesty and beauty. The main fall is almost perpendicular, about seventy-four feet in height. At the base there is a huge fragment of rock upon which the water thunders unceasingly, and from which a dense column of spray rises. When the sunlight falls upon the moving spray a splendid rainbow shimmers over the wild and foaming waters below. Almost of equal interest with the great cataract itself is the winding gorge below, through which the seething torrent rushes for a distance of one mile to the lower basin, descending nearly fifty feet in that distance. The gorge is in places exceedingly narrow. The walls are in general perpendicular and from 80 to 150 feet in height. The rapids through the canyon are often of the wildest character. At the narrowest place in the gorge a colossal mass overhanging the cliff is known as Pulpit Rock. The exact width can hardly be measured here, for the rapid below is the wildest in the gorge, but the river is narrower at this point than at any other between the confluence of the Baker and South-west branches (twenty-five miles from its source) and the

Bay of Fundy. In the vicinity of Pulpit Rock are the famous "wells." The largest of these is about thirty feet deep, with a diameter of sixteen feet at the top, widening at the bottom. There are many others, some large and some small, all water-worn in the solid rock. A short distance below the wells is the a whirlpool known as the "Coffee Mill." Logs once drawn into its embrace are frequently ground to a point at either end and sometimes rendered unfit for merchandise. The appearance of the Falls varies greatly with the season. The rugged features of the gorge, its wells and caves are seen to advantage at midsummer when the water is low, but the falls are much more grand and awe inspiring when the river is at highwater mark. At the time of the famous spring freshet in 1887 the main fall became merely an enormous rapid, while at the outlet of the gorge, a mile below, the pent up waters burst forth with the wildest fury.

The Grand Falls are very nearly half way between the source of the river and its mouth and fully one third of the area drained by the river is above the Falls.

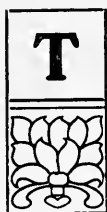
We have dwelt at some length upon the features of the upper St. John as being a part of the river with which the majority of people are unfamiliar. To many persons the St. John River means merely the body of water between St. John and Fredericton. But Fredericton really is near the mouth of the river. At Woodstock some progress in the ascent of the stream has been made, but not until the Grand Falls are reached do we attain the midway point. The 450 miles of water navigable for steamboats is of course chiefly to be found on the lower half of the river, but a large part of the 2,630 miles of water navigable by boats and canoes lies above the Grand Falls.

The drainage basin of the upper St. John is still, for the most part, a forest clad region. The most remote tributaries flow through an uninhabited wilderness. As we descend we find here and there a solitary cabin, so far removed from civilization that the inmates have hardly seen a railway, a telegraph wire, or even an ordinary highway road. Nevertheless these wood dwellers know a great deal about canoe navigation and are experts at hunting and fishing and in the art of logging and stream driving.



## CHAPTER II.

The Middle and Lower River—The Aroostook and the Tobique—Beginning of Steam Navigation—The "Novelty" Reaches Woodstock in 1837—Meductic Falls—Description of the River From Grand Falls to Tide Water at Spring Hill.



THE River from Grand Falls to its confluence with the tide at Springhill, a few miles above Fredericton, may be termed the Middle St. John. It flows through a well settled country. Nowhere in the Province are there better cultivated farms than along the river in Carleton County, often spoken of as "the Garden of New Brunswick." During its course of one hundred and thirty-five miles as the middle St. John, the river flows with a strong current, averaging in the spring-time more than six miles an hour. There are several rapids, that at the Meductic Falls being the only serious obstacle to navigation. There are many fertile intervalles and islands and in some places well formed terraces rising one above another, marking former water-levels of geological antiquity. The scenery is varied and pleasing. Below the Grand Falls the banks are for the most part high and rugged until we reach the mouth of the Aroostook, the largest tributary of the St. John. This river lies almost entirely in the State of Maine and differs from those which enter the St. John above in that its banks are cleared and cultivated almost to its source. The Aroostook region is in fact the Garden of Maine.

In recent years the towns of Ashland, Presque Isle, Fort Fairfield and Caribou have sprung into existence upon its banks.

The Aroostook is one hundred and thirty-eight miles in length and drains 2,160 square miles. It was once a region famous for its white pine timber, and it was the squabble between the rival lumberers of Maine and New Brunswick in 1839, as to their respective rights and privileges that led to the bloodless contest, known in history as "the Aroostook War." At one time the troops of either nationality stood facing each other, with guns on their shoulders, on opposite sides of a fordable river, thirty yards wide. The discharge of a musket might have precipitated a war, the end of which no man could foresee. Fortunately diplomacy was not one of the lost arts, and the British Government, through Lord Ashburton, solved the problem of over half a century's existence by a compromise, signed August 9th, 1842, known as the Ashburton Treaty.

In its course through the State of Maine the Aroostook flows, for the most part with tranquil current, but shortly after it enters New Brunswick it passes through a narrow gorge, where there is a frightful rapid. The walls of the gorge are low at first, but rise to a height of sixty or seventy feet at the lower end. Within are five principal cascades, the largest a fall of seventeen feet. The total descent through the gorge is about seventy-five feet. Here, as at Grand Falls, there are curious wells worn in the rock by the grinding action of rounded stones.

Three miles below the mouth of the Aroostook, the second largest tributary of the St. John enters from the eastward. This is the well known River Tobique. In size it approximates that of the Aroostook, being one

hundred and ten miles in length with a drainage basin of 1,560 square miles. In its characteristic features, however, the Tobique differs materially from the Aroostook. Its waters are very pure and translucent, and for a considerable distance fail to blend with the yellower waters of the main river. The settlements along the banks of the Tobique have progressed rapidly in recent years and now extend to Nictau, about sixty miles up the stream. The valley is one of the most fertile in the Province. The current runs swiftly, but the only really rough waters occur at Red Rapids and at the Narrows near the mouth of the stream.

The word Nictau signifies "forks," and a glance at the map will show that the name is particularly appropriate in this instance. At Nictau four considerable streams effect a junction within so small an area that they may almost be said to have a common place of meeting. The headwaters of the larger branch, which here turns to the southward, are separated by only a short portage from the headwaters of the Miramichi, while those of the north branch, or "Little Tobique," are separated by a still shorter portage from the Nipisiguit. Around Lake Nictau are the loftiest hills in New Brunswick. The lake nestles at the base of Bald Mountain, which rises abruptly from the water's edge to a height of 2,565 feet. A little to the south is a slightly higher eminence, Mount Carleton. Dr. Ganong, who measured it with care in 1902, found the height to be 2,675 feet, the loftiest mountain in New Brunswick. There are no less than seventeen notable salmon pools on the Tobique, but the use of these is not permitted to the general public, the local government having leased the river for salmon and trout fishing to a syndicate—the same

that controls Green River. The largest Indian village on the St. John is at the mouth of the Tobique.

Below Andover we lose contact with the lively Acadians of the Upper St. John, and the French language is no longer heard. Thriving towns and villages appear along the river—Perth, Bath, Bristol, Florenceville, Hartland and Woodstock. The only tributary of any considerable size which enters from the west is the Presque Isle, a stream of clear and rapid water which winds around the base of Mars Hill. This hill has an elevation of 1600 feet and commands an unrivalled view of the country. It attained International celebrity at the time of the boundary arbitration in 1817. The principal streams entering from the east are the Muniac, Monquart, Shiktehawk and Beccaguimec. The site of a very old Indian camping ground at the mouth of the Beccaguimec is now occupied by the thriving town of Hartland.

The Meduxakik River unites with the St. John at Woodstock. It is formed by the junction twelve miles above its mouth of two streams of nearly equal size. Houlton, the commercial rival of Woodstock and the capital town of Aroostook County is situated on the south branch. There is a waterfall near the forks and a very pretty valley from there to Woodstock.

In the year 1837 the first steam-boat, the *Novelty*, arrived at Woodstock from Fredericton. Soon afterwards regular communication was established and for many years steamers plied between the two points during the season of navigation extending their trips occasionally to the Grand Falls. The banks of the St. John from Fredericton to Woodstock were settled at the close of the American Revolution, in 1783, by disbanded

officers and soldiers of some of the Loyalist Regiments that had fought on the side of the King during the war. Locations were assigned them by the Government of Nova Scotia. On the east side were settled, in order descending the stream, the men of Arnold's Loyal American Legion, the Pennsylvania Loyalists, the Queen's Rangers, the New York Volunteers, the Prince of Wales American Regiment and the Maryland Loyalists. On the west side were settled the 1st and 2nd Battalions of DeLancey's Brigade, the King's American Regiment, the King's American Dragoons and the 3rd New Jersey Volunteers. The descendants of the old veterans are today a numerous and influential element amongst the people of western New Brunswick. The advent of railways has greatly interfered with steamboating on the river and for several years no steamboat has plied upon the waters of the middle St. John. From the tourist's point of view this is a matter to be deplored, for, while there are not to be found between Fredericton and Woodstock those magnificent reaches and broad expanses which render the views on the lower St. John so impressive, the scenery is exceedingly varied and picturesque. The very nearness of the shores enables the traveler to enjoy many a quaint scene that would otherwise escape attention. The frequent stops made by the little steamer — sometimes as many as thirty in a day — never were wearisome to one travelling for pleasure, for at each landing something amusing or interesting was sure to turn up, keeping the stranger always on the *qui vive*.

The first attempt at steam navigation above Fredericton was in the year 1832, when a small steamer, called the "Woodstock," was built for the upper route. Her

engines, however, were not sufficiently powerful to surmount the Meductic rapids, and after two attempts she gave it up. It was reserved for the "Novelty," a high pressure boat built for James Whitney of St. John, to be the first to ascend the Meductic Falls, which she did on the 30th of April, 1837, arriving at Woodstock the same evening where a great reception was accorded her. The first steamer regularly employed was the Carleton, a boat built for George Connell, Esq., of Woodstock about the year 1845. There followed in the course of time the steamers John Warren, Reindeer, Ben. Beveridge, Phoenix, Antelope, James D. Pierce, Richmond, Bonnie Doon, Tobique, Highlander, Gazelle, Ida Whittier, Andover, Florenceville and Aberdeen. The five first named were side-wheelers, the others stern-wheelers. The James D. Pierce, an American-built boat, was the pioneer stern-wheeler. The Phoenix was built by James Drake for navigation above the Grand Falls and afterwards dismantled carried around the Falls and launched upon the route below, where her advent created quite a sensation, as already related in these pages.

The Reindeer was a beautiful little boat, built at the Nashwaaksis by Thomas Pickard in 1846. Her designer, Benjamin Tibbits was a mechanical genius. Not only did the model of the Reindeer combine the qualities of speed and beauty with light draft of water, but her engines were constructed on the then novel plan of combined high and low pressure. The principle has since been adopted by all the great steamship engine builders of the world, and has been recently applied to the heavier class of locomotives, but Benjamin Tibbits profited little by the success of the idea of which he was the originator. The engines of the Reindeer were

transferred to her successor the Antelope and are still in use in the tug Admiral. The Antelope was the fastest boat ever employed on the upper route, having on one occasion made the round trip from Fredericton to Woodstock and return in twelve hours, including stops by the way, a feat that will probably never be equalled. The Aberdeen, which has but recently been withdrawn, was the last steamer on the route.

The river runs with swift current from Woodstock to the Meductic Falls, some twenty miles below. The country is exceedingly picturesque. A little above the mouth of the Shogomoc a granite belt crosses the valley of the river and for some distance the country is bestrewn with huge boulders. Many of these have been removed from the channel at the Falls, where they were a serious menace to navigation. Below the falls the current is sluggish and at Pokiok eddy the water has a depth of fifty-four feet. At the mouth of Nacawick, just below, there is a sharp and peculiar twist in the river channel after which the stream runs perfectly straight for eighteen miles in a wide shallow bed filled with alluvial islands. This stretch is termed by river men "The Reach." It is of equal length with the Long Reach just above Westfield, although quite unlike it in every other respect. A carriage may be driven across the river here at midsummer. At the lower end of the Reach the river turns sharply to the left forming at high water a whirlpool known as Burgoyne's Eddy. From this point the channel is narrow and deep to the Keswick Islands nine miles below.

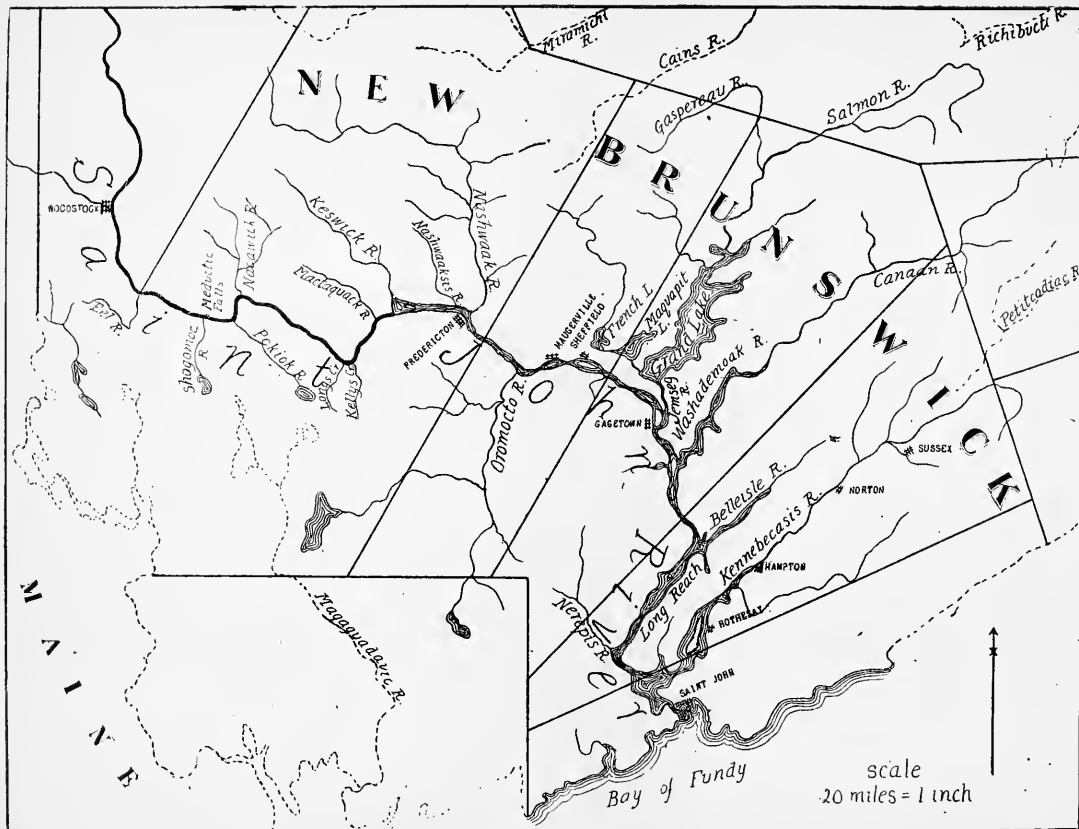
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the importance of the lumber industry. In addition to the extensive operations on the headwaters, brows of logs are found at intervals all along the banks below, which represent the winter's work of farmers who have found time to do a little lumbering. At certain seasons, probably from fifty to one hundred rafts are seen descending the river every day. When the water is high and the days are long a raft may be run by an experienced hand from the Tobique to Springhill, a distance of more than one hundred miles, between daylight and dark. For many years the raftsmen on the river used to wear red flannel shirts, and at certain seasons the decks of the steamboats, seen at a distance, suggested the presence of a regiment of British soldiers. Springhill, at the head of the tide, has always been the place where the raftsmen tie up their rafts and prepare for their return. Here in the olden days were a number of roadside inns, bearing such inviting names as "Dew-drop Inn," "Rest and be Thankful," which were much frequented by the rollicking, red shirted raftsmen. The large number of returning raftsmen, who were usually waiting at Springhill for a passage up the river, served to stimulate the rival steamboats in a desperate endeavor to be the first to reach that point. On one occasion there was a tragedy. The story in brief is as follows :

One morning in the early days of June, 1850, three rival boats lay at their several wharves in Fredericton ready to start for Woodstock and with full heads of steam on. Two of these, the James D. Pierce and Ben. Beveridge, were at the middle landing, and the other, the Reindeer, at the lower landing. The boats cast off their lines at the same moment, and as a large number of raftsmen were to embark at Springhill, there was

every prospect of a very exciting race. At Government House Point the Reindeer was passing the Ben. Beveridge, both at full speed, when the boiler of the latter boat exploded. The Beveridge was torn to the water's edge, and her fireman killed outright. Many of her passengers were thrown violently into the water. The passengers on the Reindeer, who were gathered at the rail watching the race with the keenest interest, were of course badly frightened, but escaped injury.

On the left hand side of the river, a little below Springhill, are the famous Douglas booms, with their substantial piers. Here a small army of men finds employment during the summer in gathering sorting and rafting the almost countless logs brought down the river by the stream drivers. The work of river driving has been greatly systematized in recent years. The Pond sheer boom is largely used to prevent the logs from being stranded at high water on the intervalles and islands. The booms are placed at such places as Tapley's Bar, Bull's Island, Lockwood's Island, Meductic Bar, Sullivan's Creek, Davidson's Intervale, Long Island and Bear Island. Hundreds of men and dozens of powerful horses are employed annually on the "Corporation drive" from Grand Falls to the Douglas booms.

Navigation on the Upper and Middle St. John is at present somewhat interfered with by wire ferries and by bridges. It is really surprising to see how rapidly a large scow at one of these ferries is propelled by the current along the wire cable from one side of the river to the other. These ferries are to be found at Eel River, Hawkshaw, Nacawick, and at Akerley's, Paterson's and Scott's Landings, and there are similar ferries at Edmundston and other places on the Upper St. John.

The river is spanned by at least thirteen bridges — one at Fort Kent, two at the Grand Falls, two at Andover, one at Florenceville, one at Hartland, two at Woodstock, two at Fredericton and two at St. John. The most picturesque of these structures are the Suspension Bridges at Grand Falls and at the Falls at the mouth of the river. These places were the first to be spanned by a bridge of any description and in both instances the completion of the bridge was preceded by a tragedy in which many lives were lost.

Of the dozen considerable tributaries of the St. John between Woodstock and Fredericton there are few that call for special mention. A small stream eight miles below Woodstock, known as Hay's Creek, has the highest fall in all the St. John River system. Here the water takes a perpendicular leap of ninety-five feet from a rugged cliff. At the mouth of this stream is the site of the old Medoctec Fort and the principal village of the Maliseets in early times. Eel River, a few miles below, can be reached by a short portage from this village. By ascending that river and portaging to North Lake the Indians were able to proceed by the St. Croix River and its lakes westward until another short portage to the Mattawamkeag launched them upon the Penobscot waters. This was one of the oldest and most familiar routes of travel in all Acadia in the days of the French regime. War parties of the Savages frequently traversed it on their way to devastate the frontiers of New England.

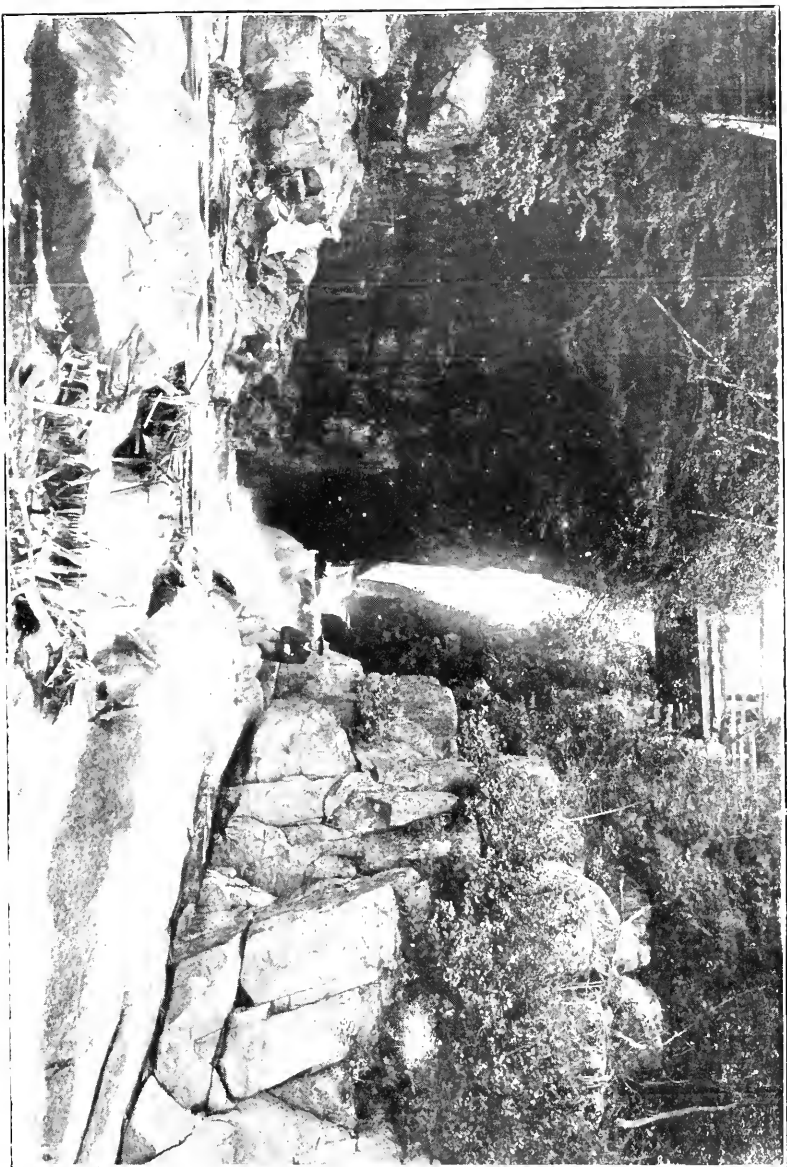
A more modern bit of history is the following: About thirty years ago a railway employee at Benton Station, named Deakin, placed a half dozen pickerel in the sluggish waters of the upper part of Eel River, which in the course of time multiplied exceedingly, not only

exterminating trout and other fish, but finding their way in considerable numbers into the River St. John where they are now frequently caught.

Twelve miles below Eel River is the Pokiok stream. It enters the St. John through a remarkable gorge or canyon, the walls of which are of dark red granite, seventy feet in height and accurately perpendicular. Within the gorge the water makes a series of leaps, aggregating about seventy-five feet. In the Spring-time the sight is truly grand. The width of the gorge, where it is spanned by the highway bridge, is only about twenty feet, and so concealed is the approach that it is quite possible for travellers deeply engrossed in conversation to cross the stream without noticing the falls. It is said that in the infancy of the settlements a stranger riding on horseback had here a remarkable experience. The road was very bad. Darkness had set in and the rain had begun to fall before he came to a friendly house. The woods were so dense and the night so dark that he gave loose reins to the horse he was riding, trusting to the animal's sagacity to find his way and avoid dangerous obstacles. On arriving at the Pokiok gorge, the horse hesitated for a moment, as if frightened by the roaring of the water below, but, on being spoken to proceeded, and a few moments later stood before the door of a settler's house where the traveller determined to put up for the night. Upon being asked by the master of the house, "Which way did you come from?" the stranger said, "I came down the river."

"You didn't cross the Pokiok?" was asked in evident amazement. "Yes, I did," was the reply.

Without another word the man of the house took his lantern and accompanied by his visitor followed the



THE POKIOK GORGE.



footmarks of the horse along the muddy road back to the stream. The traveller then saw, and to his horror, that the covering of the bridge was gone, and the yawning chasm, twenty feet broad with its roaring torrent seventy feet below, was spanned by two hewn timbers on one of which, probably not more than twenty inches square, the horse had safely crossed in the darkness.

Some of the leading men of New Brunswick, in its early days, lived on this part of the St. John River. Among the number were Chief Justice Saunders, whose old estate still bears the name of the Barony, Colonel Jacob Ellegood, Major General Armstrong, Capt. John Davidson, Major Morehouse, Major Daniel Murray, Capt. George West, and Capt. Simeon Jones. However all the inhabitants were not of equal respectability, for a place, nearly opposite Kirk's Landing, in Queensbury, is called by the rivermen "the Devil's half-acre." It seems that at one time there lived here an uncouth band of people whose actions brought the place into such disrepute that it received the objectionable name that yet clings to it.

Just at the elbow in the river (Burgoyne's Eddy), two streams enter the main river at nearly the same point while at their sources they are rather far apart. The streams are known as Long's Creek and Kelly's Creek, but their Indian names are Skoodawabslook and Skoodawabskooksis. The late Professor James DeMille wrote an amusing ballad of which the opening verse reads as follows: —

"Sweet maiden of Passamaquoddy,  
Shall we seek for communion of souls  
Where the deep Mississippi meanders  
Or the distant Saskatchewan rolls?

Ah no ! in New Brunswick we'll find it —  
A sweetly sequestered nook —  
Where the sweet gliding Skoodawabskooksis  
Unites with the Skoodawabskook."

The principal streams which enter the St. John from the eastward between Woodstock and Fredericton are the Nacawick, Mactaquack, Keswick and Nashwaaksis. Of these the most important is the Keswick. Geologists call attention to the fact that the present small stream shows a singular disproportion to the broad open valley which it traverses. The explanation is to be found in the fact that what is now the course of a comparatively small tributary was formerly that of the main river.

The St. John at the mouth of the Keswick measures two miles and a half from bank to bank which is its greatest width above Fredericton. From Rockland Hill a view of the Keswick Islands is obtained that lingers long in the memory ; wide spreading meadows bathed in sunlight, flecked here and there by shadows of passing clouds ; a river that winds like a silver cord as it threads its way in and out among the islands ; hills that in the back ground rise against the clear blue sky, their slopes clothed with rich and variegated foliage. A stoic indeed is he for whom such a landscape has no delight. Several of the islands here were cultivated by the French and Indians before the arrival of the English. But the original occupants were obliged to make room for the Loyalists in 1783 and to seek for situations more remote. Bishop St. Vallier called attention to the attractions of the place at the time of his visit in 1686. "It seems to us," he says, "that some fine settlements could be made between Medoctec and Jemseg, especially at a certain

place that we have named St. Mary, where the river is intersected by a large number of islands, which would apparently be very fertile if they were cultivated. A mission for the Indians might well be established there, the land not as yet having an owner, the King nor the Governor not having up to the present made a grant to any body. ”

The mission of Aukpaque was accordingly established here somewhat later, and in the course of time the Indian village here became of importance. Surveyor-General Charles Morris tells us, in 1762, that the island opposite Aukpaque, called Indian (or Savage) Island, was the place where the Maliseets held their annual council, when all differences and disputes were settled and hunting grounds allotted to each family before they began their summer hunts. Their permanent village of Aukpaque was on the mainland just opposite; the “Chapel field,” where stood their church of St. Anne, is still pointed out. The name Aukpaque — properly written Ek-pa-hawk — signifies “the head of the tide.” From this point to the Bay of Fundy, a distance of ninety miles, the river may very properly be called the Lower St. John. This part of the river is so well known that only its general features need be considered.

Fredericton, six miles below the head of the tide at Springhill, is generally considered to be the end of navigation for sailing vessels. This beautiful little city is the political, legal and educational centre of New Brunswick, and has moreover a Cathedral. It occupies the old St. Anne’s Plain and stands embowered amid the trees planted by the hands of its founders. A very charming view of the city and its environs is to be had from the Cupola of the University. The Nashwaak

River directly opposite has a course of seventy-five miles and drains nearly six hundred square miles of country. A vast amount of history, ancient and modern, is connected with this river and will be found in later chapters of this book. The Upper Nashwaak has for many years been a famous lumbering country and its phenomenal development under the able management of Alexander Gibson is quite a story in itself.

The characteristics of the St. John from Fredericton to Gagetown are totally different from anything to be found above. From the Nashwaak to the Jemseg, a distance of rather more than thirty miles, the land on the east side of the river is an immense alluvial flat without a stone and subject to a yearly inundation at the time of freshet. This region was undoubtedly at one time a lake thirty-five miles in length and as many in breadth of which Grand Lake, in Queens County, is the survival.

Much of the most productive soil along the borders of the St. John has been formed by the erosion of the river. The terraces, that have formed along the more rapid upper reaches, are due to the deposition of the coarser flood-borne material. The wide spreading flats and the alluvial islands found along the river, between the mouth of the Keswick and the Long Reach, are composed of finer silt. At one time the valley of the Lower St. John was probably an estuary of the sea. At Fredericton and below it this estuary has been largely filled with Leda clay. Beneath the surface deposits at Fredericton, there is a bed of clay, the ascertained depth of which is more than two hundred feet, from which the remains of large fossil fishes have been removed. The Maugerville and Sheffield flats have been formed by sediment deposited in the old lake basin which now overlies the older clay. This fertile district

was in very early times occupied by the French. Here too, in 1762 was established the first considerable settlement of English speaking people. The land is exceedingly rich and is annually manured by the silt-bearing freshet. The annual innudation has its advantages and its disadvantages. The ground is enriched by the overflow, and the thrifty farmer is able to provide his family with an abundant supply of gaspereaux, but the presence of the water in his cellar and, not infrequently, in his stables and the lower apartments of his dwelling is not regarded with complacency.

The Oromocto River, the first considerable tributary below Fredericton, drains 810 square miles. The stream is deep and does not rise above tide level until "the forks," twenty-five miles from the mouth, are reached. Here the north and south branches unite to form the main stream, each flowing from large lakes about twenty-five miles apart. The Oromocto is a beautiful and romantic stream and has historic associations of which we shall hear more in the succeeding chapters of this book.

Grand Lake has a surface area considerably greater than that of Lake Temiscouata, but is very shallow in comparison, its greatest depths rarely exceeding ten fathoms, while Temiscouata has a depth in places of two hundred feet. The Grand Lake is connected by natural canals or "thoroughfares" with Maquapit and French lakes. Its outlet into the St. John is the Jemseg, a deep sluggish river six miles in length. The Grand Lake system drains 1,470 square miles, a greater area than is drained by any other tributary excepting the Aroostook and Tobique. Indian Point and the southwestern shore of Maquapit Lake were favorite camping grounds for the

Maliseets from time immemorial, and the muddy banks contain many stone implements, flint arrow heads and bits of broken pottery.

As we descend the river the banks begin gradually to rise until rugged hills, ranging from two to seven hundred feet in height, become the common feature of the landscape. At Washademoak the river is several miles wide with numerous alluvial islands, Long Island being the largest.

The Long Reach of the St. John, not far below, is one of the most beautiful sheets of water in the world. The course of the river extends southwesterly for a distance of eighteen miles in a perfectly straight channel. The most conspicuous features on the western side are "The Mistake," Oak Point, and "The Devil's Back." The Nerepis is the only river of any pretention that enters from the west below the Oromocto. It winds in a meandering way through a fertile valley flanked by high and rugged hills. It is a beautiful and romantic stream for a quiet paddle. The bridge at its mouth is the longest over any tributary of the St. John.

Below the Jemseg three well-known rivers enter from the east, the Washademoak, the Belleisle and the Kennebecasis. All these are navigated by small steamers.

In the days when roads were unknown, the best travelled route from St. John to the eastward was up the Washademoak and Canaan rivers at the head of which a short portage leads to the Petitcodiac. This route was much used by the French and Indians in maintaining communication between Quebec and Louisburg.

The name of Belleisle recalls a celebrated Acadian family who took up their residence on the river about the year 1736.

At the junction of the Kennebecasis with the St. John there is the large lake-like expansion known as Grand Bay, which connects easterly with Kennebecasis Bay and southerly with South Bay. Boar's Head marks the southerly termination of Kennebecasis Bay. It is rather a remarkable promontory. At its base the water is about 220 feet deep, the greatest depth found on the entire river. Long Island, in Kennebecasis Bay is the most elevated as well as one of the largest islands of the St. John river system. On the east side opposite Rothesay a lofty perpendicular cliff, called the Minister's Face, rises from the water's edge. This cliff marks the crater of an extinct volcano. The water at the foot of the cliff is nearly two hundred feet deep. No rural part of New Brunswick is so densely peopled as the valley of the Kennebecasis. In recent years the villages of Sussex, Norton, Hampton and Rothesay have grown to be not inconsiderable towns. The Kennebecasis drains 850 square miles and is in many ways a very remarkable water-way. The fact that it is so well known is sufficient apology for so brief a reference.

Two miles below Boar's Head the river enters the Narrows. Here it is flanked by high limestone cliffs and the water is very deep. At Indiantown there is again an expansion, and here the river steamers have their wharves and land their passengers. The St. John now ends the long journey, which began 450 miles away in Northern Maine, and enters the harbor just below the famous tidal falls. This curious natural phenomenon, commonly known as the "Reversing Falls," attracted the attention of the earliest explorers. Champlain, Lescarbot, Biard, Denys and others have described it with more or less fidelity. They say little of its scenic

attractions, but much of the danger and difficulty of navigation. Biard, the Jesuit missionary, writing in 1611, says: "The entrance to this river is very narrow and very dangerous, for the ship has to pass between two rocks, where the current of the tide is tossed from the one side to the other, flashing between them as swift as an arrow. Above these rocks (ascending the stream) there is a frightful and horrible precipice, and if you do not pass over it at the proper moment, and when the water is smoothly heaped up, of a hundred thousand barques not an atom would escape, but men and goods would all be lost.

Geologists are of opinion that the River St. John formerly flowed from South Bay through a channel that reached the Bay of Fundy near Duck Cove. This channel was filled with "drift" in the Glacial age, and the course of the river diverted to its present outlet. The cliffs at the Suspension bridge, where the river is not more than 350 feet wide at the narrowest place, are of limestone rising to a height of nearly 100 feet. At the upper falls the rocks are hard quartzites. The wild rapids here, are due to the presence of ledges beneath the surface. The depth at the fall, between the mill and the little rocky island near the opposite shore varies from eight to twenty-two feet. In the basin just below there is a depth of one hundred and twenty-six feet and opposite Indiantown, above, the depth is about two hundred feet. At low-tide the water pours from the great basin formed by Grand Bay, South Bay and Kennebecasis Bay in a mighty rapid which rivals the rapids of Niagara.

But before the level of the River has fallen more than two or three feet at Indiantown the returning tide stems

the outflowing torrent. The River for a brief time is overpowered and the salt water rushes with great velocity through the falls and on up the Narrows until it reaches the wide expanse of Grand Bay.

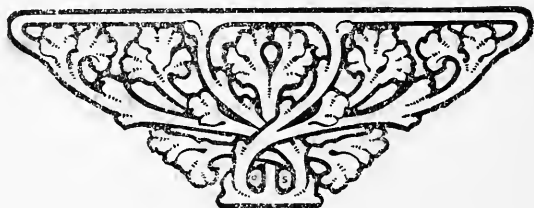
A splendid view of the Falls may be had from the Suspension and Cantilever bridges, but nearer and better views are to be had from the mill on the Fairville side and from Point Prospect on the eastern side.

Despite the high tides of St. John harbor, which sometimes closely approximate thirty feet, the narrow gate at the River's mouth prevents the St. John from degenerating into a tidal river such as the Petitcodiac. The battle between the outflowing river and the inflowing tide is as old as the centuries. Twice in the course of every twenty-four hours the struggle is renewed, but the river is so far successful that it holds its freedom and is never subjugated to a condition oscillating between drowned shores and flats of slimy ooze. But were the gate of the river opened wide, as are those of other rivers, the tide would overwhelm miles on miles of the fertile meadows of the Grand Lake region and destroy all its beauty.

The Indians tell the following legend of the origin of the falls.

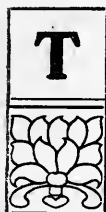
In fulfilling his mission for the good of all living creatures Glooscap summoned the animals to appear before him. The bear was asked what he would do if he were to meet a man. For reply he trotted off looking over his shoulder, as he generally does still when he meets a human being. Glooscap signified his approval. The squirrel at that time was as big as a lion. On being asked what he would do if he were to meet a man he flew at a stump and tore it with his teeth and claws.

Glooscap considered him quite too dangerous an animal and reduced him to his present size. The Beaver had lately been the source of annoyance to the other animals and was admonished as to the impropriety of his behaviour. In spite of the warning, however, he continued his evil deeds and among other things built a dam across the mouth of the St. John River, which made so big a pond that all the country from Jemseg to the Keswick became a great lake or jimquispam. Glooscap was sent for. He broke down the dam with his ponderous club and the rush of water swept a piece of it out to sea. This it seems is Partridge Island, which the Indians call Quak-m'kagan'ik, or "a piece cut out." The falls they call Quabeet-a-wee-sogado, or "the beaver's rolling dam." Some Indians say that Split-rock, just below the Suspension Bridge, is Glooscap's club, which he threw away after it had served his purpose in the destruction of the dam. Glooscap pursued and eventually captured and killed the big beaver in his house on the island opposite Rothesay. The beaver's house is none other than the well known cliff the "Minister's Face," which the Indians call Quabeet-a-woosis-sek or the "beaver's nest."



## CHAPTER III.

The Red Man's Sway on the River St. John — The Maliseet Indians and Their Traditions — Membertou, the Grand Sagamore of the Micmacs — How the Indians hunted Game — Treatment of Indian Women — Legend of the Slaughter of Mohawks at Grand Falls.



THE Indian period of our St. John River history possesses a charm peculiarly its own. When European explorers first visited our shores the Indian roamed at pleasure through his broad forest domain. The wealth of its attraction was as yet unknown to the hunter, fisherman or fur-trader. Rude as he was, the red man could feel the charm of the wilderness in which he dwelt. The voice of nature was not meaningless to one who knew her haunts so well. The dark recesses of the forest, the sunny glades of the open woodland, the mossy dells, the sparkling streams and roaring mountain torrents, the quiet lakes, the noble river flowing onward to the sea, with islands here and there imbosomed by its tide, all were his. The smoke of the wigwam fire curled peacefully from his village or temporary encampment. He might wander where he pleased with none to say him nay.

But before the inflowing tide of the white man's civilization the Indian's supremacy vanished as the morning mist before the rising sun. The old hunting grounds are his no longer. His descendants have been forced to look for situations more and more remote, and the sites

of the ancient villages on interval and island have long been tilled by the thrifty farmer's hands.

But on the sites of the old camping grounds the plough share still turns up relics that lead us back to the "stone age." A careful study of these relics tell us something about the habits and customs of the aborigines before the coming of the whites. Another source of information we have in the quaint tales and legends that drift to us out of the shadows of the past.

With the coming of the Whites the scene changes, and the simplicity of savage life grows more complicated. The change is not entirely for the better; the hardships of savage life are ameliorated, it is true, but the Indian learns the vices of civilization.

The native races naturally play a leading part in the early history of Acadia, nor do they always appear in an amiable light. The element of fierceness and barbarity, which seems inherent in all savage races, was not wanting in the Indians of the River St. John. They united with their neighbors in most of the wars waged with the whites, and took their full share in the bloody forays which devastated the infant settlements of Maine and New Hampshire. The annals of Eastern New England tell many a sad story of the sacrifice of innocent lives, of women and children carried into captivity, and homes made desolate by savage hands.

And yet, it may be that with all his faults the red man has been more sinned against than sinning.

Many years ago the Provincial Government sent commissioners to the Indian village of Medoctec on the St. John river, where the Indians from time immemorial had built their wigwams and tilled their cornfields and where their dead for many generations had been

laid to rest in the little graveyard by the river side. The object of the commissioners was to arrange for the location of white settlers on the Indian lands. The Government claimed the right to dispossess the Indians on the ground that the land surrounding their village was in the gift of the crown. The Indians, not unnaturally, were disinclined to part with the heritage of their forefathers.

On their arrival at the historic camping ground the commissioners made known the object of their visit. Presently several stalwart captains, attired in their war paint and feathers and headed by their chief, appeared upon the scene. After mutual salutations the commissioners asked : " By what right or title do you hold these lands ? "

The tall, powerful chief stood erect and with the air of a plumed knight, pointing to the little enclosure beside the river, replied : " There are the graves of our grandfathers ! There are the graves of our fathers ! There are the graves of our children ! "

To this simple native eloquence the commissioners felt they had no fitting reply, and for the time being the Maliseets remained undisturbed.

It is not necessary to discuss at length the origin of the Indians who lived on the banks of the St. John at the time the country became known to Europeans. Whether or not the ancestors of our Indians were the first inhabitants of that region it is difficult to determine. The Indians who now live on the St. John are Maliseets, but it is thought by many that the Micmacs at one time possessed the valley of the river and gradually gave place to the Maliseets, as the latter advanced from the westward. There is a tradition among the St. John

river Indians, that the Micmacs and Maliseets were originally one people and that the Maliseets after a while "went off by themselves and picked up their own language." This the Micmacs regarded as a mongrel dialect and gave to the new tribe the name Maliseet (or Milicete), a word derived from Mal-i-see-jik — "he speaks badly." However, in such matters tradition is not always a safe guide. It is more probable the two tribes had an independent origin, the Micmacs being the earlier inhabitants of Acadia, while the Maliseets, who are an offshoot of the Abenaki (or Wabenaki) nation, spread eastward from the Kennebec to the Penobscot and thence to the St. John. The Indians who are now scattered over this area very readily understand one another's speech, while the language of the Micmacs is unintelligible to them.

The Micmacs seem to have permitted the Maliseets to occupy the St. John River without opposition, their own preference inclining them to live near the coast. The opinion long prevailed in Acadia that the Maliseets were a more powerful and ferocious tribe than the Micmacs; nevertheless there is no record or tradition of any conflict between them.

That the Maliseets have for centuries inhabited the valley of the St. John is indicated by the fact that the Indian names of rivers, lakes, islands and mountains, many of which have been retained by the whites, are nearly all of Maliseet origin. Nevertheless the Micmacs frequented the mouth of the St. John River after the arrival of Europeans, for we learn that the Jesuit missionary, Enemond Massé, passed the winter of 1611-2 at St. John in the family of Louis Membertou, a Micmac, in order to perfect himself in the Micmac language,

which he had already studied to some extent at Port Royal. The elder Membertou, father of the Indian here named, was the most remarkable chieftain Acadia ever produced. His sway as grand sagamore of the Micmac nation extended from Gaspé to Cape Sable. In the year 1534 he welcomed the great explorer Jacques Cartier to the shores of Eastern New Brunswick, as seventy years later he welcomed de Monts and Poutrincourt to Port Royal. The Jesuit missionary, Pierre Biard, describes him as the greatest, most renowned and most formidable savage within the memory of man; of splendid physique, taller and larger limbed than is usual among the Indians; bearded like a Frenchman, although scarcely any of the others have hair upon the chin; grave and reserved but with a proper sense of the dignity of his position as commander. In strength of mind, in knowledge of war, in the number of his followers and in the renown of a glorious name among his countrymen, and even his enemies, he easily surpassed the sagamores who had flourished during many preceding ages.

In the year 1605 Pennoniac, one of the chiefs of Acadia, accompanied de Monts and Champlain as guide on the occasion of their voyage along the shores of New England and was unfortunately killed by some of the savages known as the Armouchiquois near Saco. Bessabez, the sagamore of these Indians, allowed the body of the dead chief to be taken home by his friends to Port Royal and its arrival was the signal of great lamentation. Membertou was at this time an old man, but although his hair was white with the frosts of a hundred winters, like Moses of old, his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated. He decided that the death

of Pennoniac must be avenged. Messengers were sent to call the tribes of Acadia and in response to the summons 400 warriors assembled at Port Royal. The Maliseets joined in the expedition. The great flotilla of war canoes was arranged in divisions, each under its leader, the whole commanded by Membertou in person. As the morning sun reflected in the still waters of Port Royal the noiseless procession of canoes, crowned by the tawny faces and bodies of savage warriors smeared with pigments of various colors, the sight struck the French spectators with wonder and astonishment.

Uniting with their allies from the River St. John, the great war party sped westward over the waters of the Bay of Fundy and along the coast till they reached the land of the Armouchiquois. Here they met and defeated their enemies, after a hard fought battle in which Bes-sabaz and many of his captains were slain, and returned in triumph to Acadia singing their songs of victory.

The characteristics of the Indians of Acadia, Micmacs and Maliseets, are in the main identical; usually they were closely allied and not infrequently intermarried. Their manners and habits have been described with much fidelity by Champlain; Lescarbot, Denys and other early explorers. Equally accurate and interesting is the description of the savages in the narrative of the Jesuit missionary Pierre Biard, who came to America in 1611, and during his sojourn visited the St. John River and places adjacent, making his head quarters at Port Royal. His narrative, "A Relation of New France, of its Lands, Nature of the Country and of its Inhabitants," was printed at Lyons in 1616. A few extracts will suffice to show that Biard was not only an intelligent observer, but that his pen was the pen of a ready writer.

"I have said before," he observes, "that the whole country is simply an interminable forest; for there are no open spaces except upon the margin of the sea, lakes and rivers. \* \* In several places we found the grape and wild vines which ripened in their season. It was not always the best ground where we found them, being full of sand and gravel like that of Bourdeaux. There are a great many of these grapes at St. John River in 46 degrees of latitude, where also are to be seen many walnut (or butternut), and hazel trees."

This quotation will show how exact and conscientious the old French missionary was in his narration. Beamish Murdoch in his History of Nova Scotia ventures the observation. "It may perhaps be doubted if the French account about grapes is accurate, as they mention them to have been growing on the banks of the Saint John where, if wild grapes exist, they must be rare." But Biard is right and Murdoch is wrong. Wild grapes grow in abundance on the islands and intervals of the River St. John and, in spite of the interference of the farmers, are found as far north at least as Woodstock. Biard visited the St. John River in October, 1611, and stayed a day or two at a small trading post on an island near Oak Point.

Here is Father Biard's description of the Indian method of encampment: "Arrived at a certain place, the first thing they do is to build a fire and and arrange their camp, which they will have finished in an hour or two; very often in half an hour. The women go into the woods and bring back some poles which are stuck into the ground in a circle around the fire and at the top are interlaced in the form of a pyramid, so that they come together directly over the fire, for there is the

chimney. Upon the poles they throw some skins, matting or bark. At the foot of the poles under the skins they put their baggage. All the space around the fire is strewn with soft boughs of the fir tree so they will not feel the dampness of the ground ; over these boughs are thrown some mats or seal skins as soft as velvet ; upon these they stretch themselves around the fire with their heads resting upon their baggage ; and, what no one would believe, they are very warm in there around that little fire, even in the greatest rigors of the winter. They do not camp except near some good water, and in an attractive location."

The aborigines of Acadia at the time the country became known to Europeans, no doubt lived as their ancestors had lived from time immemorial.

We gain some knowledge of the Indians of prehistoric time in the archaeological remains of the period. These are found at Bocabec, in Charlotte county, Grand Lake in Queens county, and at various points along the St. John river. The relics most commonly brought to light include stone implements such as axes, hammers, arrow heads, lance and spear heads, gouges and chisels, celts or wedges, corn crushers, and pipes ; also bone implements such as needles, fish hooks and harpoons, with specimens of rude pottery.

When Champlain first visited our shores the savages had nothing better than stone axes to use in clearing their lands. It is to their credit that with such rude implements they contrived to hack down the trees, and, after burning the branches and trunk, planted their corn among the stumps and in the course of time took out the roots. In cultivating the soil they used an implement of very hard wood, shaped like a spade, and

their method of raising corn, as described by Champlain, was much the same as that of our farmers today. The corn fields at the old Medoctic Fort on the banks of the St. John were cultivated by the Indians many years before the coming of the Whites. Cadillac, writing in 1693, says: "The Maliseets are well shaped and bold hunters; they attend to the cultivation of the soil, and have some fine fields of Indian corn; their fort is at Medocktek." Many other choice spots along the St. John river were tilled in very early times, including the site of the city of Fredericton, where there was an Indian encampment long before the place was dreamed of as the seat of Government of the Province.

Lescarbot, who wrote in 1610, tells us that the Indians were accustomed to pound their corn in a mortar (probably of wood) in order to reduce it to meal. Of this they afterwards made a paste, which was baked between two stones heated at the fire. Frequently the corn was roasted on the ear. Yet another custom was described by John Gyles, who lived as a captive with the St. John river Indians in 1689 which he thus describes:

"To dry the corn when in the milk, they gather it in large kettles and boil it on the ears till it is pretty hard, then shell it from the cob with clam shells and dry it on bark in the sun. When it is thoroughly dry a kernel is no bigger than a pea, and will keep years; and when it is boiled again it swells as large as when on the ear and tastes incomparably sweeter than other corn. When we had gathered our corn and dried it in the way described, we put some of it into Indian barns, that is into holes in the ground lined and covered with bark and then with earth. The rest we carried up the river upon our next winter's hunting."

The Indians were usually a very improvident race, Pierre Biard writes: "They care little about the future and are not urged on to work except by present necessity. As long as they have anything they are always celebrating feasts and having songs, dances and speeches. If there is a crowd of them you certainly need not expect anything else. Nevertheless if they are by themselves and where they may safely listen to their wives, for women are everywhere the best managers, they will sometimes make storehouses for the winter where they will keep smoked meat, roots, shelled acorns, peas, beans, etc."

Although the Indians living on the St. John paid some attention to the cultivation of the soil there can be no doubt that hunting and fishing were always their chief means of support. In Champlain's day the implements of the chase were very primitive. Yet they were able to hunt the largest game by taking advantage of the deep snow and making use of their snowshoes. Champlain says. "They search for the track of animals, which, having found, they follow until they get sight of the creature, when they shoot at it with their bows or kill it by means of daggers attached to the end of a short pike. Then the women and children come up, erect a hut and they give themselves to feasting. Afterwards they proceed in search of other animals and thus they pass the winter."

Wild game was vastly more abundant in this country, when it was discovered by Europeans, than it is today. In the days of La Tour and Chamisay as many as three thousand moose skins were collected on the St. John in a single year, and smaller game was even more abundant. Wild fowl ranged the coasts and marshes

and frequented the rivers in incredible numbers. Biard says that at certain seasons they were so abundant on the islands that by the skilful use of a club right and left they could bring down birds as big as a duck with every blow. Denys speaks of immense flocks of wild pigeons. But the Indian's food supply was not limited to these; the rivers abounded with salmon and other fish, turtles were common along the banks of the river, and their eggs, which they lay in the sand, were esteemed a great delicacy; as for the musquash it was, and still is, the "Indian's turkey."

A careful examination of the relics discovered at the sites of the old camping grounds suffices to confirm the testimony of early writers, regarding the nomadic habits of the Indians. They were a restless race, for ever wandering, as necessity or caprice impelled them. At one time they were attracted to the sea side where clams, fish and sea fowl abounded; at another they preferred the charms of the inland waters. Sometimes the mere love of change led them to forsake one camping place and remove to some other favorite spot. When game was scarce they were compelled by sheer necessity to seek new hunting grounds. At the proper season they made temporary encampments for salmon fishing with torch and spear. Anon they tilled their cornfields on the intervals and islands. They had a saying: "When the maple leaf is as big as a squirrel's foot it is time to plant the corn." Occasionally the outbreak of some pestilence broke up their encampments and scattered them in all directions. In time of peace they moved leisurely, but in time of war flotillas of their bark canoes skimmed swiftly over the lakes and rivers bearing the dusky warriors against the enemies of their race. Many



A ST. JOHN RIVER INDIAN.

a peaceful New England hamlet was startled by their mid-night war-whoop when danger was little looked for.

It is a common belief that the Indians were formerly much more numerous than they are now. Exactly the same opinion seems to have prevailed when the country was first discovered, but it is very doubtful whether there were ever many more Indians in the country than there are today. In the year 1611 Biard described them as so few in number that they might be said to roam, over rather than to possess the country. He estimated the Maliseets, or Etchemins, as less than a thousand in number scattered over wide spaces, as was natural for those who were obliged to live by hunting and fishing. Today the Indians of Maine and New Brunswick, within the same area as the Etchemins of 1611, number considerably more than a thousand souls. There are, perhaps, as many Indians in the maritime provinces now as in the days of Champlain. Excellent reasons have always existed to prevent the Indians from becoming very numerous. A wilderness country can only support a limited population. The hunter must draw his sustenance from a very wide range of territory, and the life of toil and privation to which the Indian was exposed was fatal to all but the strongest and most hardy.

Among the most striking characteristics of the Indian is the keenness of perception by which he is enabled to track his game or find his way through pathless forests without the aid of chart or compass. The Indian captive, John Gyles, relates the following incident which serves for illustration.

"I was once travelling a little way behind several Indians and, hearing them laugh merrily, when I came up I asked them the cause of their laughter. They

showed me the track of a moose, and how a wolverene had climbed a tree, and where he had jumped off upon the moose. It so happened that after the moose had taken several large leaps it came under the branch of a tree, which, striking the wolverene, broke his hold and tore him off; and by his tracks in the snow it appeared he went off another way with short steps, as if he had been stunned by the blow that had broken his hold. The Indians were wonderfully pleased that the moose had thus outwitted the mischievous wolverene."

The early French writers all notice the skill and ingenuity of the savages in adapting their mode of life to their environment. Nicholas Denys, who came to Acadia in 1632, gives an entertaining and detailed account of their ways of life and describes their skilful handicraft. The snowshoe and bark canoe aroused his special admiration. They also made dishes out of bark, both large and small, sewing them so nicely with slender rootlets of fir that they retained water. They used in their sewing a pointed bodkin of bone, and they sometimes adorned their handiwork with porcupine quills and pigments. Their kettles used to be of wood before the French supplied them with those of metal. In cooking, the water was readily heated to the boiling point by the use of red-hot stones which they put in their wooden kettle from time to time.

Until the arrival of Europeans the natives were obliged to clothe themselves with the skins of the beaver and other animals. The women made all the garments, but Champlain did not consider them very good tailoresses.

Like most savage races the Indians were vain and consequential. A certain sagamore on hearing that the

young King of France was unmarried, observed : " Perhaps I may let him marry my daughter, but the king must make me some handsome presents, namely, four or five barrels of bread, three of peas and beans, one of tobacco, four or five cloaks worth one hundred sous apiece, bows, arrows, harpoons and such like articles."

Courtship and marriage among the Maliseets is thus described by John Gyles : " If a young fellow determines to marry, his relations, and the Jesuit advise him to a girl, he goes into the wigwam where she is and looks on her. If he likes her appearance, he tosses a stick or chip into her lap which she takes, and with a shy side-look views the person who sent it ; yet handles the chip with admiration as though she wondered from whence it came. If she likes him she throws the chip to him with a smile, and then nothing is wanting but a ceremony with the Jesuit to consummate the marriage. But if she dislikes her suitor, she with a surly countenance throws the chip aside and he comes no more there."

An Indian maiden educated to make " monoodah," or Indian bags, birch dishes and moccasins, to lace snowshoes, string wampum belts, sew birch canoes and boil the kettle, was esteemed a young lady of fine accomplishments. The women, however, endured many hardships. They were obliged to build the cabins, supply them with fire, wood and water, prepare the food, bring the game from the place where it had been killed, sew and repair the canoes, stretch the skins, curry them and make clothes and moccasins for the whole family. Biard says : " They go fishing and do the paddling, in short, they undertake all the work except that alone of the grand chase. Their husbands sometimes beat them unmercifully and often for a very slight cause."

Since the coming of the whites the Maliseets have had few quarrels with the neighboring tribes. But they always entertained, a dread of the Mohawks, and many legends have been handed down to us which tell of their fights with these implacable foes. One of the most familiar—that of the destruction of the Mohawk war party at the Grand Falls—was told by the Indians to the early settlers on the river soon after their arrival in the country and is as follows.

The season of the fall hunting was ended and the Indians had returned with their furs and peltry to their fort at Medoctec. They were celebrating the event after their fashion, and sounds of revelry filled the air as they danced around the huge fires they had lighted in honor of the occasion. All at once there came the wailing cry of a woman from the river. They listened and the dread word "Mohawk! Mohawk!" was heard. Consternation now took the place of revelry. One or two of the bravest of the tribe rushed to the river bank and found there an Indian woman, the wife of one of their number who had not yet returned to the village. "Mohawk!" was the only word she had strength to utter. Strong arms carried her within the palisaded fort. The gates were closed and barricaded for fear the enemy were at hand and then the woman told her story. It was that five hundred Mohawk warriors had crossed from the St. Lawrence waters to Temiscouata Lake and launching their canoes had descended the Madawaska to destroy the village of Medoctec on the River St. John. On the Madawaska their advance party at early dawn surprised, in their small encampment, a Maliseet hunter with his family. The hunter and children were instantly killed and the life of the woman only spared upon her

promising to be their guide. She was placed in the chief's canoe and the war party proceeded onward. As they approached the Little Falls at the mouth of the Madawaska, the woman told them that a portage must be made as the place was impassable by water. Re-embarking they proceeded and reached the tranquil waters that are to be found for at least a dozen miles above the Grand Falls. Upon being assured by the guide that there were no more falls the flotilla of canoes was lashed together in raft-like fashion and drifted with the tide. In a little while almost all the wearied Mohawks were sleeping, but the woman well knew that they were nearing the Falls. Hearing at length the noise of falling water, some of the watchers inquired the cause and were told that it was only the noise of a water-fall at the mouth of a river which here joins the St. John. As the fleet swept on and quickened for the plunge, the Indian woman slipped quickly into the water and swam to the shore. Meanwhile the sleepers awoke as the full blast of the cataract thundered in their ears. They sprang in desperate horror to their paddles. Their cry of despair as they were swept into the abyss was mingled with the exultant war-cry of the Indian woman as she saw the enemies of her tribe descend into the gulf, where every soul was lost. One canoe alone remained from the wreck to carry the woman to her home and friends. She had saved her nation, but was a maniac from that day.

There is another form of this legend in which the woman shares the fate of the Mohawks. This version is adopted by Dr. Hannay in his ballads of Acadia.

“Then, with a shout of triumph, the Indian  
maiden cried,

'Listen, ye Mohawk warriors, which sail on  
death's dark tide !

Never shall earth grave hold you, or wife  
weep o'er your clay.

Come to your doom, ye Mohawks, and I will  
lead the way.'

\* \* \* \* \*

And, many a day thereafter, beyond the  
torrent's roar,

The swarthy Mohawk dead were found along  
the river's shore.

But on brave Malabeam's dead face no  
human eyes were set —

She lies in the dark stream's embrace, the  
river claims her yet."

The Indian name of the Grand Falls, Chik-un-ik-pe, means "a destroying giant," and is not improbably connected with this legend. There are many other Indian legends which describe the conflicts of the Maliseets with the Mohawks in pre-historic times.

Until quite recently the word "Mohawk," suddenly uttered, was sufficient to startle a New Brunswick Indian. The late Edward Jack upon asking an Indian child, "What is a Mohawk?" received this reply, "A Mohawk is a bad Indian who kills people and eats them." Parkman describes the Mohawks as the fiercest, the boldest, yet most politic savages to whom the American forests ever gave birth and nurture. As soon as a canoe could float they were on the war path, and with the cry of the returning wild fowl mingled the yell of these human tigers. They burned, hacked and devoured, exterminating whole villages at once.



GRAND FALLS, ST. JOHN RIVER.

Scene of Traditional Destruction of Mohawk War Party.



A Mohawk war party once captured an Algonquin hunting party in which were three squaws who had each a child of a few weeks or months old. At the first halt the captors took the infants, tied them to wooden spits, roasted them alive before a fire and feasted on them before the eyes of the agonized mothers, whose shrieks, supplications and frantic efforts to break the cords that bound them, were met with mockery and laughter. "They are not men, they are wolves!" sobbed one of the wretched women, as she told what had befallen her to the Jesuit missionary.

Fearful as the Maliseets were of the Mohawks they were in their turn exceedingly cruel to their captives and, strange as it may appear, the women were equally as cruel as the men. In the course of the border wars English captives were exposed to the most revolting and barbarous outrages, some were even burned alive by our St. John River Indians.

But while cruel to their enemies, and even at times cruel to their wives, the Indians were by no means without their redeeming features. They were a modest and virtuous race, and it is quite remarkable that with all their bloodthirstiness in the New England wars there is no instance on record of the slightest rudeness to the person of any female captive. This fact should be remembered to their credit by those who most abhor their bloodthirstiness and cruelty. Nor were the savages without a certain sense of justice. This we learn from the following incident in the experience of the English captive John Gyles.

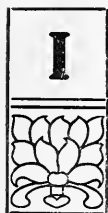
"While at the Indian village (Medoctec) I had been cutting wood and was binding it up with an Indian rope in order to carry it to the wigwam when a stout

ill-natured young fellow about 20 years of age threw me backward, sat on my breast and pulling out his knife said that he would kill me, for he had never yet killed an English person. I told him that he might go to war and that would be more manly than to kill a poor captive who was doing their drudgery for them. Notwithstanding all I could say he began to cut and stab me on my breast. I seized him by the hair and tumbled him from off me on his back and followed him with my fist and knee so that he presently said he had enough; but when I saw the blood run and felt the smart I at him again and bid him get up and not lie there like a dog — told him of his former abuses offered to me and other poor captives, and that if he ever offered the like to me again I would pay him double. I sent him before me, took up my burden of wood and came to the Indians and told them the whole truth and they commended me, and I don't remember that ever he offered me the least abuse afterward, though he was big enough to have dispatched two of me."

The unfortunate conduct of some of the Governors of New England was largely responsible for the hostility of the Maliseets to the English. Towards the French they were from the first disposed to be friendly, and when de Monts, Champlain and Poutrincourt arrived at the mouth of the River St. John on the memorable 24th day of June, 1604, they found awaiting them the representatives of an aboriginal race of unknown antiquity, of interesting language, traditions and customs, who welcomed them with outward manifestations of delight and formed with them an alliance that remained unbroken throughout the prolonged struggle between the rival powers for supremacy in Acadia.

## CHAPTER IV.

The Coming of the White Man to Acadia — Basque, Breton and Norman Fishermen Made Voyages to the Bay of Fundy in 1504 — Champlain's Exploration in 1604, When First Colony was Planted — Settlements Along the St. John River.



IT is time now to tell of the coming of the White Man. Just who the first adventurers were who visited the shores of the Bay of Fundy we cannot tell with certainty. They were not ambitious of distinction, they were not even animated by religious zeal, for in Acadia, as elsewhere, the trader was the forerunner of the priest.

The Basque, Breton and Norman fishermen are believed to have made their voyages as early as the year 1504, a century before Champlain entered the mouth of the St. John River. But these early navigators were too intent upon their own immediate gains to think of much beside; they gave to the world no intelligent account of the coasts they visited, they were not accurate observers, and in their tales of adventure fact and fiction are blended in equal proportion. Nevertheless, by the enterprise and resolution of these hardy mariners the shores of eastern North America were fairly well known long before Acadia contained a single white inhabitant.

Adventurers of Portugal, Spain and Italy vied with those of France and England in the quest of treasure beyond the sea. They scanned our shores with curious eyes and pushed their way into every bay and harbor.

And thus, slowly but surely, the land that had lain hidden in the mists of antiquity began to disclose its outline as the keen searchlight of discovery was turned upon it from a dozen different sources.

While the first recorded exploration of the southern coast of New Brunswick is that of de Monts and Champlain in 1604, there can be little doubt that European fishers and traders had entered the Bay of Fundy considerably before the close of the 16th century, had made the acquaintance of the savages and possibly had ventured up the River St. John. The Indians greeted the new-comers in a very friendly fashion and were eager to barter their furs for knives and trinkets. The "pale-faces" and their white winged barks at first were viewed with wonder not unmingled with awe, but the keen-eyed savages quickly learned the value of the white man's wares and readily exchanged the products of their forests and streams for such articles as were needed. Trade with the savages had assumed considerable proportions even before the days of Champlain.

But while it is probable that the coasts of Acadia were visited by Europeans some years before Champlain entered the Bay of Fundy, it is certain that the history of events previous to the coming of that intrepid navigator is a blank. The Indians had gradually become familiar with the vanguard of civilization, as represented by the rude fishermen and traders, that is all we know.

The honor of the first attempt at colonization belongs to the Sieur de Monts, a Huguenot who had rendered essential service to the French king. This gentleman, with the assistance of a company of merchants of Rouen and Rochelle, collected a band of 120 emigrants,

including artisans of all trades, laborers and soldiers, and in the month of April, 1604, set sail for the coasts of Acadia.

Under the name of Acadia Henry IV. of France gave to the Sieur de Monts jurisdiction over a region so vast that the sites of the modern cities of Montreal and Philadelphia lay within its borders. In other words the grant to de Monts would today include the Maritime Provinces, the greater part of the Province of Quebec and the half of New England.

The colonists embarked in two small vessels, the one of 120, the other of 150 tons burden, and a month later they reached the southern coast of Nova Scotia. They proceeded to explore the coast and at length entered the Bay of Fundy, to which the Sieur de Monts gave the name, La Baye Francaise. Champlain has left us a graphic account of the voyage of exploration around the shores of the Bay. In this, however, we need not follow him. Suffice it to say that on the 24th day of June there crept cautiously into the harbor of St. John a little craft, smaller than any of our coasting schooners, which nevertheless carried the germ of an empire, for de Monts, Champlain and Poutrincourt, the founders of New France, were on her deck.

There is in Champlain's published "Voyages" a fairly accurate plan of St. John harbor which he says, lay "at the mouth of the largest and deepest river we had yet seen which we named the River Saint John, because it was on this saint's day that we arrived there."

Champlain did not ascend the river far but Ralleau, the secretary of the Sieur de Monts, went there some time afterwards to see Secoudon (or Chkoudun), the chief of the river, who reported that it was beautiful,

large and extensive with many meadows and fine trees such as oaks, beeches, walnut trees and also wild grape vines. In Champlain's plan of St. John harbor a cabin is placed on Navy Island, which he describes as a "cabin where the savages fortify themselves." This was no doubt the site of a very ancient encampment.

Lescarbot, the historian, who accompanied de Monts, says they visited the cabin of Chkoudun, with whom they bartered for furs. According to his description the town of Ouigoudy, the residence of Chkoudun, was a great enclosure upon a rising ground, surrounded with high and small trees, tied one against the other; and within the enclosure were several cabins, great and small, one of which was as large as a market hall, wherein many households resided. In the large cabin, which served as a council chamber, they saw some 80 or 100 savages all nearly naked. They were having a feast, which they called "Tabagie." The chief Chkoudun made his warriors pass in review before his guests.

Lescarbot describes this Indian sagamore as a man of great influence who loved the French and admired their civilization. He even attended their religious services on Sundays and listened attentively to the admonitions of their spiritual guides, although he did not understand a word. "Moreover," adds Lescarbot, "he wore the sign of the cross upon his bosom, which he also had his servants wear; and he had in imitation of us a great cross erected in the public place called Oigoudi at the port of the River Saint John." This sagamore accompanied Poutrincourt on his tour of exploration to the westward.

According to Champlain's plan of St. John harbor, the channel on the west side of Navy Island was much

narrower in his day than it is now. The name Ouigoudy (or Wigoudi) applied by the Indians to Chkoudun's village on Navy Island, is nearly identical with the modern word "We-go-die," used by the Maliseets to



CHAMPLAIN'S PLAN OF ST. JOHN HARBOR.

The figures indicate fathoms of water. A. Islands above the falls. B. Mountains two leagues from the river. D. Shoals or flats. E. Cabin where the savages fortify themselves. F. A pebbly point where there is a cross (Sand Point). G. Partridge Island. H. A small river coming from a little pond (mill pond and its outlet). I. Arm of the sea, dry at low tide (Courtenay Bay and the Marsh Creek). P. Way by which the savages carry their canoes in passing the falls.

designate any Indian village or encampment. They have always called the St. John river "Woolastook," but their name for the place on which the City of St. John is built

is "Men-ah-quesk," which is readily identified with "Menagoeche," the name applied to St. John harbor by Villebon and other French commanders in Acadia.

Navy Island assumes a historic interest in our eyes as the first inhabited spot, as far as we know, within the confines of the city of St. John. In Champlain's plan the principal channel is correctly shown on the east side of Partridge Island. The cross at the extremity of what is now called Sand Point was probably erected by the explorers in honor of their discovery. Groups of savages are seen on either side of the harbor, and a moose is feeding near the present Haymarket Square. A little ship rests on the flats on the Carleton side of the harbor.

De Monts and Champlain spent the first winter on an island in the St. Croix River. Their experience was disastrous in the extreme. Nearly half of their party died of "mal de la terre," or scurvy, and others were at the point of death. Pierre Biard, the Jesuit missionary, attributed the fatality of the disease to the mode of life of the people, of whom only eleven remained well. "These were a jolly company of hunters who preferred rabbit hunting to the air of the fireside, skating on the ponds to turning over lazily in bed, making snowballs to bring down the game to sitting around the fire talking about Paris and its good cooks." In consequence of their unfortunate experience during the winter the little colony removed next year to Port Royal.

The advent of European explorers and traders materially affected the manner of life of the Indians. Hitherto they had hunted the wild animals merely for subsistence, but now the demand of the traders for furs and peltry stimulated enormously the pursuit of game. The keen-eyed savages saw the advantages of the white

man's implements and utensils. Steel knives, axes, vessels of metal, guns, powder and shot, blankets, ornaments and trinkets excited his cupidity. Alas, too, love of the white man's "fire-water" soon became a ruling passion and the poor Indian too often received a very indifferent compensation for his toil and exposure. In the summer time, when the ships arrived from France, the Indians gathered in large numbers at the various trading posts. They came from far and near, and for several weeks indulged in feasting and revelry.

The Maliseets frequently came to the mouth of the St. John to trade; sometimes they even resorted to Port Royal, for these daring savages did not fear to cross the Bay of Fundy in their frail barks. Their chief, Chkoudun, proved a valuable ally of the French owing to his extensive knowledge of the country. Champlain came to St. John from Port Royal in the autumn of 1605 to get him to point out the location of a copper mine on the shores of the Bay of Fundy, supposed to be of fabulous richness. Chkoudun readily agreed to accompany his visitor to the mine, which was on the shores of the Basin of Minas. The master miner, whom de Monts had brought to Acadia to search for precious metals, deemed the outlook not unpromising, but Champlain was disappointed, and says: "The truth is that if the water did not cover the mines twice a day, and if they did not lie in such hard rocks, something might be expected from them."

Chkoudun, when Champlain invited him to go with the Sieur de Poutrincourt and himself as guide on a tour of exploration along the coast of New England, at once consented. They set out in the month of September, and the chief took with him in a shallop a supply of goods

he had obtained from the fur traders to sell at a profit to his neighbors the Armouchiquois. The commercial spirit of our good city of St. John evidently goes back to the days of its discovery. The savages of New England were beginning to covet the axes and implements of civilization their neighbors to the eastward had obtained from the fishermen and traders.

The Indians were now for a season to part with their friends and allies. In 1607 de Monts decided to abandon his attempt to establish a colony, and Champlain and his associates were recalled to France. Acadia was once more without a single European inhabitant. Three years later Poutrincourt, to the great joy of the savages returned to Port Royal, and most of the rights and privileges formerly held by de Monts were transferred to him.

The summer of 1611 was notable for the arrival of the Jesuit missionaries, Pierre Biard and Enemond Massé, who may be regarded as the pioneers of the order in North America.

Some of the French traders did not quietly acquiesce in Poutrincourt's monopoly of trade. The masters of certain ships of St. Malo and Rochelle boasted to the Indians that they would devour Poutrincourt as the fabled Gougou would a poor savage. This was an insult that Poutrincourt was not disposed to endure, and he crossed the Bay in quest of the offenders who were sternly admonished and compelled to acknowledge his authority, but it was discovered afterwards that they had carried away nearly all that was valuable of the fur trade for that season.

The missionary Biard at this time succeeded in reconciling Poutrincourt and the younger Pontgravé, who for some misdemeanor had been banished from Port Royal.

and had spent the previous winter among the Indians of the St. John river. Biard speaks of him as a young man of great physical and mental strength, excelled by none of the savages in the chase in, alertness and endurance, and in his ability to speak their language.

Early in the month of October a little island in Long Reach called Emenenic, now known as Caton's Island, was the scene of an exciting incident of which Biard has left us a picturesque description. It seems that Pout-rincourt's son, Biencourt, wished to exact submission on the part of a number of traders of St. Malo, who had established a trading post on the island. Accordingly accompanied by a party of soldiers and the Jesuit missionary he proceeded to the scene of their operations.

The party on the island of Emenenic included their captain, Merveille, of St. Malo, and young Pontgravé. Biard in his narrative terms them "Malouins." "We were still," he says, "one league and a half from the island when the twilight ended and night came on. The stars had already begun to appear when suddenly towards the northward a part of the heavens became blood red; and this light spreading little by little in vivid streaks and flashes, moved directly over the settlement of the Malouins and there stopped. The red glow was so brilliant that the whole river was tinged and made luminous by it. This apparition lasted about five minutes and as soon as it disappeared another came of the same form, direction and appearance. Our savages, when they saw this wonder, cried out in their language, 'Gara, gara, maredo' — we shall have war, there will be blood. We arrived opposite the settlement when the night had already closed in, and there was nothing we could do except to fire a salute from the falconet, which

they answered with one from the swivel gun. When morning came and the usual prayers were said, two Malouins presented themselves upon the bank and signified to us that we could disembark without being molested, which we did. It was learned that their captains were not there but had gone away up the river three days before, and no one knew when they would return. Meanwhile Father Biard went away to prepare his altar and celebrate holy mass. After mass Sieur de Biencourt placed a guard at the door of the habitation and sentinels all around it. The Malouins were very much astonished at this proceeding. The more timid considered themselves as lost; the more courageous stormed and fumed and defied them.

“When night came on Captain Merveille returned to his lodgings, knowing nothing of his guests. The sentinel hearing him approach uttered his “*qui voila*”—who goes there? The Malouin, thinking it was one of his own people, answered mockingly, ‘who goes there thyself?’ and continued upon his way. The sentinel fired his musket at him in earnest and it was a great wonder (*merveille*) that Merveille was not killed. But he was very much astonished and still more so when some soldiers came upon him with naked swords, seized him and took him into the house.

“Merveille had his hands bound behind his back so tightly that he could not rest and he began to complain very pitifully. Father Biard begged Sieur de Biencourt to have the sufferer untied, alleging that if they had any fears about him they might enclose him in one of the Carthusian beds, and that he would himself stay at the door to prevent his going out. Sieur de Biencourt granted this request.”

"Now I could not describe to you," Biard goes on to say, "what a night this was; for it passed in continual alarms, gun shots and rash acts on the part of some of the men; so that it was feared with good reason that the prognostications seen in the heavens the night before would have their bloody fulfilment upon earth. I do not know that there was one who closed his eyes during the night. As for me, I made many fine promises to our Lord never to forget His goodness if He were pleased to avert bloodshed. This He granted in His infinite mercy. \* \* Certainly Captain Merveille and his people showed unusual piety for notwithstanding this so annoying encounter, two days afterwards they confessed and took communion in a very exemplary manner, and at our departure they all begged me very earnestly, and particularly young du Pont, to come and stay with them as long as I liked. I promised to do so and am only waiting the opportunity, for in truth I love these honest people with all my heart."

Biard and Massé, the pioneer missionaries, were well adapted to the work they had undertaken. They were devout, thoroughly in earnest and gifted. Inspired by the motto of their order, "*ad majoram Dei gloriam*," they shrank from no toil or privation. Father Massé passed the winter of 1611-12 with Louis Membertou and his family at the River St. John, with only a French boy as his companion, his object being to increase his knowledge of the Indian language. He suffered many hardships and was at one time seriously ill, but returned in safety to Port Royal. He describes the winter's experience with the savages as "a life without order and without daily fare, without bread, without salt, often without anything; always moving on and changing, \* \*

for roof a wretched cabin, for couch the earth, for rest and quiet odious cries and songs, for medicine hunger and hard work."

At the outset the missionaries experienced great difficulty in teaching the Indians the fundamental truths of Christianity. Not knowing the language and having no instructor they were obliged to ask the Indians what they called each single thing. The task was not so very difficult so long as what was inquired about could be touched or seen, or shown in action — a stone, a river, a canoe; to strike, to jump, to laugh, to sit down. But when it came to such expressions as to think, to remember, to forget, to doubt; "to know those four things," writes Biard, "you will be obliged to amuse the Indians for a whole afternoon, playing the clown. We are compelled to make a thousand gesticulations and signs: in short we are still disputing, after a great deal of inquiry, whether they have any word to correspond directly to the word *Credo* — I believe." Biard had the saving grace of humor, which saved him many a time from discouragement. Speaking of the perverseness of the savages he says, "These fine gentlemen often ridiculed instead of helping us, and to pass the time sometimes palmed off on us abominable words which we went about innocently preaching as beautiful sentences from the gospels." In addition to the difficulties of the language it required all the skill and ingenuity of the Jesuit fathers to meet the objections raised by their catechumens. One of their number, Father Jouvency, experienced no little difficulty in convincing the savages of the existence of the Place of Torment. They contended that the fuel required for these undying fires would exhaust the forest supply. Jouvency boldly

replied that the soil of the "lower world" was itself the fuel. His reply was greeted with derision, but the priest offered on the next day to convince the chiefs and captains, in the presence of the assembled tribe, of the truth of his words. Accordingly on the morrow he exhibited for their inspection a large and dull colored lump of sulphur which the chiefs agreed was soil of some sort. Bidding the chiefs to make careful observation he placed the lump upon the dying embers of the fire. As they bent closely over it the pungent fumes speedily filled the staring eyes and expanded nostrils of the savages and Jouvency says, "from henceforth they believed in a Lower World."

The work of the Jesuits was still in the experimental stage when the destruction of Port Royal by Argal in the year 1613, and the capture and removal of the missionaries brought everything to a stand and put an end to all attempts at colonization in Acadia for some years.

The Indians, however, were not forgotten; the Jesuits had failed, but in 1619 a party of Recollet missionaries from Aquitaine began a mission on the St. John. These humble missionary laborers had no historian to record their trials and privations, and unlike the Jesuits they did not become their own annalists. We know, however, that one of their number, Father Barnardin, while returning from Miscou to the River St. John, in the year 1623, died of hunger and fatigue in the midst of the woods, a martyr to his charity and zeal. Five years afterwards, the Recollets were compelled to abandon their mission which, however, they occupied before many years had passed. Meanwhile a company of fur traders established a post on the River St. John as a convenient centre for trade with the Indians.

The French, with young Beincourt at their head, still kept a feeble hold on Acadia. Biencourt had as his lieutenant, Charles de la Tour. Biencourt and la Tour — such was their poverty — were compelled to live after the Indian fashion, roaming through the woods from place to place. In this rude life la Tour acquired an extensive knowledge of the country and its resources, and became familiar with the St. John River region. Beincourt at his death left him all his property in Acadia.

The destruction of Port Royal by Argal was the first incident in the prolonged struggle between England and France for sovereignty in America.

The French having failed in their endeavor to establish a settlement in Acadia, the next attempt at colonization was made by the British, but it proved as futile as that of de Monts. James I. of England, in the year 1621, gave to Sir William Alexander the Nova Scotian peninsula together with a vast adjacent wilderness as a fief of the Scottish crown. For several years this favored gentlemen seems to have contented himself with sending annually a ship to explore the shores of his domain and to trade with the Indians. Later he devised a scheme to facilitate the settlement of a colony by the creation of an order of baronets of Nova Scotia. The baronets were each to receive an estate six miles in length and three in breadth in consideration of assistance given in the colonization of the country. In the course of ten years more than one hundred baronets were created, of whom thirty-four had estates within the limits of New Brunswick. To that part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy, now called New Brunswick, Sir William gave the name of the Province of Alexandria. The St. John River he called the Clyde, and the St. Croix, which divided New

England and New Scotland, he not inaptly called the Tweed.

When war broke out between England and France in 1627, young Charles la Tour found his position in Acadia very insecure. However, he was naturally resourceful and by his diplomacy and courage continued to play a prominent part in the history of affairs. He sought and obtained from Louis XIII. of France a commission as lieutenant-general and at the same time obtained from Sir William Alexander the title of a Baronet of Nova Scotia. He procured from his royal master a grant on the River St. John, and obtained leave from Sir William Alexander to occupy it.

By the treaty of St. Germain, in 1632, Acadia was ceded to France and immediately after the peace the Sieur de Razilly came to the country at the head of a little colony of settlers, many of them farmers, whose descendants are to be found among the Acadians of today. With de Razilly came d'Aunay Charnisay, who was destined to become la Tour's worst enemy. De Razilly died in 1635, leaving his authority to Charnisay, his relative and second in command. Charnisay made his headquarters at Port Royal and nobody disputed his authority except la Tour, who claimed to be independent of him by virtue of his commission from the crown and his grant from the Company of New France. The dissensions between the rivals at length culminated in war, and the strife was long and bitter.



## CHAPTER V.

The Struggle of Charnisay and la Tour for the Possession of Acadia — St. John Blockaded by Charnisay — La Tour and His Wife go to Boston for Help — Charnisay's Blockade Broken — Mme. la Tour's Visit to France and England — Defence of the Fort by Madame la Tour — Treachery from Within — Its Fall and the Death of Madame La Tour — Drowning of Charnisay and Marriage of His Widow to la Tour.



**C**HARLES de Menou, Seigneur d'Aunay Charnisay, came of a distinguished family of Touraine. He married Jeanne Motin, a daughter of the Seigneur de Courcelles. She came to Acadia with him in 1638. They resided at Port Royal where Charnisay in his log mansion reigned like a feudal lord.

Charles St. Etienne de la Tour was of less conspicuous lineage than his rival, although in legal documents he is called "a gentleman of distinguished birth." He married Frances Marie Jacquelines who, according to the questionable testimony of his enemies, was the daughter of a barber of Mans. She was a Huguenot and whatever may have been her origin her qualities of mind and heart have deservedly won for her the title of "the heroine of Acadia." Never had man more faithful ally than Marie Jacquelines proved to Charles la Tour.

As early as the year 1630 la Tour had been concerned in a project to erect a strong fort at the mouth of the St. John as a protection against the incursions of hostile adventurers. He hoped thereby to secure control of the

fur trade of the vast wilderness region extending from the mouth of the river nearly to the St. Lawrence. It was not, however, until the 15th of January, 1635, that the Company of New France granted him a tract of land at St. John, extending five leagues up the river and including within its bounds "the fort and habitation of la Tour."

The French government endeavored to establish a good understanding between la Tour and Charnisay. A royal letter was addressed to the latter in which he was cautioned against interference with la Tour's settlement at the River St. John and la Tour was cautioned not to interfere with Charnisay's settlement at Port Royal. Charnisay was commissioned lieutenant-general from Chignecto to Penobscot and la Tour was given like jurisdiction over the Nova Scotian peninsula. Thus la Tour's settlement and fort at St. John lay within the limits of Charnisay's government and Charnisay's settlements at La Have and Port Royal lay within the government of la Tour, a curious arrangement and not calculated to promote harmony on the part of the rivals.

It is rather difficult to get at the facts of the quarrel that now rapidly developed between la Tour and Charnisay, the statements of their respective friends are so diverse and contradictory. Nicolas Denys, the historian, had reason to dislike Charnisay, and his statements concerning Charnisay's barbarity should be received with caution. On the other hand the friends of Charnisay have cast aspersions on the character of Lady la Tour that seem to have been entirely unwarranted. The fact remains that Acadia, large as it was, was not large enough for two such ambitious men as Charles la Tour and d'Aunay Charnisay.

The exact site of la Tour's fort at the mouth of the River St. John has been the subject of controversy. Dr. W. F. Ganong, a most conscientious and painstaking student of our early history, has argued strongly in favor of its location at Portland Point ( the green mound near Rankine's wharf at the foot of Portland street ). The late Joseph W. Lawrence and Dr. W. P. Dole advocated the claims of Fort Dufferin. But the site usually accepted is that known as "Old Fort," on the west side of the harbor opposite Navy Island. La Tour certainly resided there at one time and his son-in-law the Sieur de Martignon lived there a little later; but whether this was the site of the first fort built by la Tour, and so bravely defended by his wife, is at least a debatable question.

Upon his arrival at St. John, la Tour surrounded himself with retainers and established an extensive traffic with the Indians. Dr. Hannay gives a graphic picture of the situation:—

"A rude abundance reigned at the board where gathered the defenders of Fort la Tour. The wilderness was then a rich preserve of game, where the moose, caribou and red deer roamed in savage freedom. Wild fowl of all kinds abounded along the marsh and interval lands of the St. John, and the river itself—undisturbed by steamboats and unpolluted by saw mills—swarmed with fish. And so those soldier-traders lived on the spoils of forest, ocean and river, a life of careless freedom, undisturbed by the politics of the world and little crossed by its cares. Within the fort, Lady la Tour led a lonely life, with no companions but her domestics and her children, for her lord was often away ranging the woods, cruising on the coast, or perhaps on a voyage to

France. She was a devout Huguenot, but the difference of religion between husband and wife seems never to have marred the harmony of their relations. ”

In the struggle between the rival feudal chiefs, Charnisay had the advantage of having more powerful friends at court, chief among them being the famous Cardinal Richelieu.

Representations made concerning the conduct of la Tour led the French monarch in 1641 to order his return to France to answer the charges laid against him. In the event of his refusal, Charnisay was directed to seize his person and property.

The contest now entered upon an acute stage. La Tour claimed that the royal order had been obtained through misrepresentation, and absolutely refused to submit to Charnisay. The latter, not daring to attack la Tour in his stronghold, repaired to France where he succeeded in fitting out five vessels and in obtaining the services of 500 soldiers to compel his rival to submission. He also procured another and more definite order from the king, directing him to seize la Tour's fort and person and to send him to France as a rebel and traitor.

Meanwhile la Tour was not idle. His friends at Rochelle sent out to him a large armed vessel, the *Clement*, loaded with ammunition and supplies and having on board 150 armed men. When the vessel neared St. John, it was discovered that Charnisay had established a blockade at the mouth of the harbor and that entrance was impracticable. In this emergency la Tour resolved to seek aid from the people of New England, whose trade and friendship he had begun to cultivate. Boston was then but a struggling village, in its thirteenth year, with houses principally of boards or logs, gathered around its

plain little meeting-house. Eluding the vigilance of the blockading squadron, la Tour and his wife succeeded in getting on board the *Clement*, and at once repaired to Boston, where their arrival created some consternation, for Boston happened to be at that time in a particularly defenceless situation. Governor Winthrop remarked : " If la Tour had been ill-minded towards us, he had such an opportunity as we hope neither he nor any other shall ever have the like again." However, la Tour had come with no ill intent, and after some negotiations, which he conducted with much skill and discretion, he was allowed to hire from Edward Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins, four vessels with 50 men and 38 guns. He also obtained the assistance of 92 soldiers. With these he hastened to the relief of his fort. Charnisay was compelled to raise the blockade and retire to his defences at Port Royal, where he was defeated with loss by the united forces of la Tour and his allies.

While at St. John, the Bostonians captured a pinnace belonging to Charnisay, laden with 400 moose and 400 beaver skins. Their own pinnace went up the river to Grand Lake and loaded with coal. This shows that the coal mines of Queens county were known and worked more than 250 years ago.

As the struggle with la Tour proceeded Charnisay became more and more determined to effect the destruction of his rival. La Tour's resources were nearly exhausted and his situation was becoming exceedingly critical. He dared not leave his fort and yet he could not hold out much longer unaided. His brave wife was equal to the emergency ; she determined herself to go to France for assistance. This was an arduous undertaking for a woman, but her spirit rose to the occasion, and

neither the perils of the deep nor the difficulties that were to confront her at the court of France served to daunt her resolute soul. Fearlessly she set out upon the long and dangerous voyage, and in the course of more than a year's absence endured disappointments and trials that would have crushed one less resolute and stout hearted. Her efforts in her native country were foiled by her adversaries, she was even threatened with death if she should venture again to leave France, but setting the royal command at defiance she went to England and there chartered a ship to carry stores and munitions of war to St. John. The master of the ship, instead of proceeding directly to his destination, went up the River St. Lawrence to trade with the Indians. After a six month's voyage, they at length entered the Bay of Fundy where some of Charnisay's vessels were encountered, and the captain to avoid the seizure and confiscation of his ship, was obliged to conceal Madame La Tour and her people and proceed to Boston. Here his own tribulations began, for Madame la Tour brought an action against him for violation of his contract, and after a four days' trial the jury awarded her two thousand pounds damages. With the proceeds of this suit she chartered three English ships in Boston and proceeded to St. John with all the stores and munitions of war that she had collected. The garrisons at Fort la Tour hailed her arrival with acclamations, for they had begun to despair of seeing her again.

Charnisay's attempt to reduce la Tour to subjection was seemingly foiled, but his opportunity came a little later. In February, 1645, he learned that la Tour was absent and that his garrison numbered but fifty men. He determined at once to attack the fort. His first

attempt was an abject failure. The Lady la Tour inspired the little garrison with her own dauntless spirit, and so resolute was the defence and so fierce the cannon fire, that Charnisay's ship was so shattered and disabled that he was able with difficulty to save her from sinking. In the attack twenty of his men were killed and thirteen wounded. Two months later he made another attempt with a stronger force, and landed two cannon to batter the fort on the land side. On the 17th of April, having brought his largest ship to within pistol shot of the water rampart, he summoned the garrison to surrender. He was answered by cannon shots and shouts of defiance.

The story of the taking of Fort la Tour, as told by Nicholas Denys, is well known. For three days Madame la Tour bravely repelled the besiegers and obliged them to retire beyond the reach of her guns. On the fourth day whilst she, hoping for some respite, was making her soldiers rest, a miserable Swiss sentinel betrayed the garrison and when the alarm was given the enemy were already scaling the walls. Madame la Tour, even in this direful emergency, succeeded in rallying the defenders, who bravely resisted the attack, though greatly outnumbered. She only surrendered at the last extremity and under condition that the lives of all should be spared. This condition Charnisay is said to have shamefully violated and all the garrison were hanged, with the exception of one whom he spared on condition of his acting the part of executioner. The lady commander herself was compelled to stand at the scaffold with a rope about her neck as though she were the vilest criminal.

It is but fair to state that our knowledge of the gross indignity to which Lady la Tour was subjected is derived from Denys' narrative, and its authenticity has been

questioned by Parkman. Nevertheless accounts of the transaction that have come to us from sources undoubtedly friendly to Charnisay admit that he hanged the greater number of his prisoners, "to serve as an example to posterity" and that Madame la Tour was put into confinement where, as Charnisay's supporter somewhat brutally observes, "she fell ill with spite and rage." The Lady la Tour did not long survive her misfortunes. Scarcely three weeks elapsed after the capture of the fort she had so gallantly defended when she was laid to rest near the spot consecrated by her devotion.

There will always be a peculiar charm for us in the story of our Acadian heroine. Fearless, resolute, undoubtedly she was, yet who shall say that the motives that actuated her were other than pure and womanly? She gave her life to protect her husband, her children and the humbler dependents that followed their fortunes from the hands of a bitter and unscrupulous enemy.

The capture of his stronghold and the death of his faithful wife involved la Tour in what appeared to be at the time irreparable ruin. He found himself as in his younger days, an exile and a wanderer.

The booty taken by Charnisay was valued at £10,000 sterling and as it had been accumulated in traffic with the Indians we may form some idea of the value of the trade of the St. John River at this time.

When the capture of la Tour's stronghold was known at the court of Versailles the young king was well pleased. He confirmed Charnisay's authority in Acadia and even extended it — on paper — from the St. Lawrence to Virginia. He could build forts, command by land and sea, appoint officers of government and justice, keep such lands as he fancied and grant the

remainder to his vassals. He had also a monopoly of the fur trade, and with Fort la Tour, the best trading post in Acadia, in his possession, the prospect for the future was bright. Charnisay possessed the instincts of a colonizer and had already brought a number of settlers to Acadia. Everything at this juncture seemed to point to a growing trade and a thriving colony. But once again, the hand of destiny appears; in the very zenith of his fortune and in the prime of his manhood Charnisay was drowned on the 24th day of May, 1650, in the Annapolis River near Port Royal.

With Charnisay's disappearance la Tour reappears upon the scene. His former defiant attitude is forgotten, he is recognized as the most capable man of affairs in Acadia and in September, 1651, we find him again in possession of his fort at St. John. The king now gave him a fresh commission as lieutenant-general in Acadia with ample territorial rights. Disputes soon after arose concerning the claims of the widow of d'Aunay Charnisay; these disputes were set at rest by the marriage of the parties interested. The marriage contract, a lengthy document, was signed at Port Royal on the 24th day of February, 1653, and one of its clauses states that the end and principal design of the intended marriage is the peace and tranquility of the country and concord and union between the two families. There is no evidence to show that la Tour's second marriage proved unhappy, though it is an unromantic ending to an otherwise very romantic story. The maiden name of la Tour's second wife was Jeanne Motin. She was the second wife of Charnisay as well as the second wife of la Tour. Descendants of Charles la Tour by his second marriage are to be found today in the families of the

D'entremonts, Girouards, Porliers and Landrys of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

La Tour and his new wife were quietly living at St. John the year after their marriage when four English ships of war suddenly appeared before the fort and demanded its surrender. These ships had been placed at the disposal of the people of Massachusetts by Oliver Cromwell for the purpose of an expedition against the Dutch colony of Manhattan ( New York ); but on the eve of their departure news arrived that peace had been proclaimed with Holland. It was then decided that the expedition should proceed under Major Robert Segdwick to capture the French strongholds in Acadia. This was a bold measure for England and France were ostensibly at peace. La Tour seeing that resistance was useless surrendered his fort, and the flag of Britain was hoisted over the ramparts. However, la Tour's address did not desert him ; he went to England and laid before Cromwell his claims as a grantee under the charter of Sir William Alexander. He proved as skilful a diplomatist as ever and succeeded in obtaining, conjointly with Thomas Temple and William Crowne, a grant which included nearly all Acadia. La Tour had now attained an age in which men usually enjoy tranquility more than action. He desired to be no longer the foot ball of fortune, and he was sagacious enough to see that disputes were sure to arise between England and France with regard to Acadia. He accordingly sold his rights to his co-partner Sir Thomas Temple and retired to private life. He died in 1663, at the age of about sixty-seven years, and his ashes rest within the confines of his beloved Acadia.

## CHAPTER VI.

First English Trading Post at Jemseg on the St. John — French Rule in Acadia re-established by the Treaty of Breda — Census showed only 400 Persons in all Acadia — Sieur de Soulanges at Fort Jemseg — Attack on the Fort by Privateers — Soulanges Taken a Prisoner to Boston for Ransom — Le Vallière appointed Governor — Indian Treachery Against the Whites.



AT the time of the capture of Fort la Tour by Major Sedgewick, little progress had been made in the settlement of Acadia and the valley of the St. John remained an almost unbroken wilderness. Acadia was for the next twelve years nominally in the hands of the British. The First English trading post on the river was established at the mouth of the Jemseg in 1659 by Sir Thomas Temple. The situation was deemed less exposed to marauders than the fort at the mouth of the river. There can be but little doubt that Temple would soon have had a flourishing trade, but, unfortunately for him, Acadia was restored to France by the treaty of Breda in 1667. For three years he tried to keep possession of his lands but in the end was compelled to surrender his post to the Sieur de Soulanges. The Jemseg fort was a palisaded enclosure having stakes eighteen feet in height. The arament consisted of five iron guns mounted on wooden platforms. The fort occupied a small mound less than one hundred yards from the bank of the Jemseg river. The site commanded an extensive view both up and down the River

St. John. A fragment of the rampart is still visible and numerous relics have been dug up in the vicinity. The fort was evidently rather a frail defence but sufficient for the Indian trade.

The Chevalier Grand-fontaine was now appointed to command in Acadia, with Pierre de Joibert, Seigneur de Soulanges et Marson, as his lieutenant. One of the first acts of Grand-fontaine was to have a census taken, from which we learn that there were only a little more than 400 people in the whole of Acadia, very few of whom were to be found north of the Bay of Fundy. Grand-fontaine was recalled to France in 1673, and Chambly, who had been an officer in the famous Carignan Salières regiment succeeded him. The control of affairs was now transferred to Quebec, where a governor-general and intendant, or lieutenant-governor, resided.

About this time large tracts of land were granted as "seigniories" by Count Frontenac and his successors. The seignior was usually a person of consideration by birth and education. He received his seignior from the crown on condition that whenever the property changed hands the act of "faith and homage" was to be tendered at the Castle of St. Louis in Quebec. The tendering of faith and homage was quite an elaborate ceremony, in which the owner of the land, divesting himself of arms and spurs, with bared head on bended knee, repeated before the governor, as the representative of the sovereign, his acknowledgement of faith and homage to the crown. Provision was made in the seignioral grants for the reservation of oaks for the royal navy, of lands required for fortifications or highways, and of all mines and minerals; the seignior was also

required to reside on his land or to place a certain number of tenants thereon, and to clear and improve a certain portion within a stated time. From the year 1672 to the close of the century as many as sixteen seigniories were granted on the St. John river. The first in order of time was that of Martin d'Arpentigny, Sieur de Martignon, at the mouth of the River St. John, on the west side of the harbor. This seigniorship would now include Carleton and all the land along the west side of the river as far up as the Nerepis. The Sieur de Martignon is described as "an old inhabitant of Acadia." He married Jeanne de la Tour, only daughter of Charles la Tour by his first wife, who was born in Acadia in 1626.

In the little world of Acadia Pierre de Joibert, Sieur de Soulanges, played a leading part during his eight years residence. He was a native of the little town of Soulanges in the old French province of Champagne and had served as lieutenant in Grand-fontaine's company of infantry. In recognition of his "good and praise-worthy service to the King, both in Old and New France" he was granted on the 20th October, 1672, a seigniorship at the mouth of the St. John on the east side of the river one league in depth and extending four leagues up the river. This seigniorship included the present city of St. John. The Sieur de Soulanges, however, resided at the Jemseg, for the seigniorial grant states that he is to have in addition to his land at St. John "the house of Fort Gemesik" as a place of residence in order that he may act with more liberty and convenience in everything relating to the King's service.

Shortly before his arrival in Acadia the Sieur de Soulanges et Marson had married Marie Françoise, a daughter of Chartier de Lotbenière, the Attorney-

General of Quebec. Their daughter, Louise Elizabeth Joibert was born at Fort Jemseg on the 18th of August, 1673. She was educated at the convent of the Ursulines in Quebec. At the age of seventeen she married the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was thirty years her senior. She is described as a very beautiful and clever woman possessed of all the graces which would charm the highest circles; of rare sagacity and exquisite modesty. She was the mother of twelve children. Her husband, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, was for twenty-two years governor general of Canada, and her son held the same position when the French possessions passed into the hands of the English at the surrender of Quebec in 1759. He was consequently the last governor general of New France.

After his appointment to the command of the River St. John the Sieur de Soulanges did not long enjoy peaceable possession of his "place of residence" at the Jemseg: disturbance came from an unlooked for quarter. A Dutch buccaneer, named Jurriaen Aernouts, in the summer of 1674, associated with one John Rhoades of Boston, "an accomplished adventurer and pirate." Rhoades was well acquainted with the weak state of the French posts in Acadia, and at his suggestion Aernouts set forth on a marauding expedition, which had as one of its objects the pillaging of Fort Jemseg. Aernouts had a party of one hundred and ten men. After visiting and plundering the French settlements at Penobscot and Machias, the adventurers went up the St. John. The Sieur de Soulanges was in no condition to offer effectual resistance to so large a party, and was obliged to surrender. The Dutchmen pillaged and dismantled the fort and carried off the commander. A ransom of one

thousand beaver skins, or its equivalent, was demanded as the price of his release.

The privateersmen took the French cannon from Fort Jemseg, with the furs and other booty they had secured, to Boston where the plunder was sold to traders. The authorities, without taking the trouble to consider the piratical nature of the expedition, readily purchased the French guns for use in the defences of their town. The *Sieur de Chambly*, who was wounded and made prisoner at *Penobscot*, and the *Sieur de Soulanges* who had been so ruthlessly torn from his wife and infant child were both placed in confinement to await ransom. A French officer was permitted to go to *Count Frontenac* with a letter informing him of the fate of his subordinates in *Acadia*. *Frontenac* at once sent a party in canoes to the River *St. John* to ascertain the true state of affairs and to bring to *Quebec* the wife of the *Sieur de Soulanges* and her infant and any others who might still be there. *Frontenac* himself sent the ransom required. He also wrote to *Colbert*, the minister of *Louis XIV.* informing him of the capture of the *Jemseg Fort* "by buccaneers who came from *St. Domingo* and who had gone to *Boston*."

There was some delay in procuring the release of *Chambly* and *Soulanges* for we find that after the lapse of more than nine months *Fontenac* had not heard of their being set at liberty and he sent a communication to the magistrates at *Boston* repeating for the third time his request that the prisoners should be set free. The explanation seems to be that the authorities were waiting until *Frontenac's* bills of Exchange on *Rochelle* had been duly honored before setting their captives at liberty. With all their virtues the puritans of New

England were constantly on the alert for anything that might bring money to their coffers.

Massachusetts traders had favored the conquest of Acadia by the Dutch adventurers because they had been shut out of Acadian waters or compelled to pay a license to the French for fishing and trading privileges. They supposed that as Rhoades, whom they regarded as one of themselves, had shared with Aernouts in the expedition which captured the French strongholds, they would now have free access to the region from which they had been so largely excluded. Visions dawned upon them of rich profits from the fur trade and the fisheries. However, to the chagrin of the Boston traders, Rhoades and his associates now resolved to exercise Dutch authority and, instead of a New France, to establish a New Holland on the shores of Eastern North America. The result of this policy we shall presently see.

Count Frontenac decided to re-establish the post on the River St. John. The Sieur de Soulanges returned to his former quarters where he was rejoined by his wife and daughter the little Louise Elizabeth Joybert, whose infant slumbers the rude Dutch boors had so impolitely disturbed the summer before. Supplies and reinforcements were sent to the Jemseg and curiously enough were transported in Boston vessels. Rhoades and his Dutch associates attacked and plundered four Massachusetts trading ships one of which, the bark Tryall, was captured in the River St. John with supplies from Port Royal for the Fort. Another vessel belonging to John Freake of Boston was about the same time seized in the River St. John by John Rhoades and "some Dutchmen his complices."

The Massachusetts authorities were now thoroughly aroused and sent out an armed expedition under Captain

Samuel Mosely who, with the aid of a French vessel, destroyed Rhoades' trading posts, captured him and his goods, and carried all his people to Boston as prisoners where they were tried for piracy. Rhoades and some of his associates were found guilty, in spite of their plea that their conduct was on a par with that of Major Sedgewick, who had been sent by the authorities of Massachusetts to seize Acadia in a time of peace, as related in the last chapter. For the seizure of the New England vessels Rhoades and his comrades were sentenced to be hanged, but later on were reprieved and ordered to leave the colony.

As late as the year 1769 the Dutch government was still vigorously insisting upon indemnity for damages inflicted on its subjects by the people of Boston in depriving them of their forts at Penobscot and on the St. John. The independence asserted at this early day by the New Englanders is shown in the reply of the British government to the Dutch ambassador, which was "that the King's orders were little obeyed by those of Boston and the adjacent colonies."

In the year 1686 Bishop St. Vallier made a tour of Acadia visiting all the Indians and French inhabitants he could find. The Marquis de Denonville in his letter to the French minister announcing the safe return of the bishop to Quebec, after a most fatiguing journey, says : "He will give you an account of the numerous disorders committed in the woods by the miserable outlaws who for a long while have lived like the savages without doing anything at all towards the tilling of the soil."

Although the authorities at Quebec were stern in their denunciation of the "*coureurs de bois*," who are here referred to by the Marquis de Denonville, they do not

appear to have had a proper sense of the value of the lands on the St. John river or they would hardly have granted them with such prodigality. The Sieur de Soulanges seems to have been especially favored by Frontenac for three seigniories were granted to him including an area of more than a hundred square miles. The one at the mouth of the river possessed all those natural advantages that have made St. John the leading commercial port of the maritime provinces. That at the Jemseg became for a short time the head quarters of French power in Acadia and in a modest way the political capital of the country. The third, in the centre of which lay the site of Fredericton, remains to be described. In the grant to Soulanges it is termed, "the place called Nachouac ( Nashwaak ) to be called hereafter Soulanges, upon the River St. John, 15 leagues from Gemsek, two leagues on each side of said river and two leagues deep inland." The grant was made in consideration of the services rendered by the Sieur de Soulanges and to encourage him to continue those services. It was made so large because little of it was thought to be capable of cultivation. The seigniory would include at the present day the city of Fredericton and its suburbs, the town of Marysville, Gibson and St. Mary's and a large tract of the surrounding country; the owner of such a property would today be a multi-millionaire.

In the grant of the seigniory at the Jemseg, made to the Sieur de Soulanges et Marson in 1676, reference will be found to the Dutch invasion. The tract of land granted was a very valuable one, extending along the river one league on each side of the fort and having a depth of two leagues. It is stated in the grant that the Sieur de Soulanges "had made various repairs and

additions to the fort in order to make it habitable and capable of defence, there having been previously only a small wooden house in ruins surrounded by palisades half fallen to the ground, in fact it would have been better to have rebuilt the whole, for he would yet have to make a large outlay to put it in proper condition on account of the total ruin wrought by the Dutch (les Hollandois) when they made him their prisoner in the said fort two years ago."

Upon Chambly's appointment as governor of Granada he was succeeded as governor of Acadia by the Sieur de Soulanges who did not, however, long enjoy the honors of his new position, for he died about the year 1678. His wife continued for a while to reside on the River St. John, as we learn from the church records of the Recollet missionary, Claude Moireau, who ministered to the French and Indians of that locality. An entry in the missionary's records referred to reads as follows:

"At Jemsek, the year of grace 1681, the 25 May, have baptized according to the forms of our Holy Church, Marie Anne Denis, aged 4 months, daughter of Sieur Richard Denis, Esquire, and of Anne Patarabego, sauvagesse; child held at the font by damoiselle Marie Chartier, dame de Marson, her godmother, who has named her Marie Anne.

(Signed)      CLAUDE MOIREAU, Recol.

Count Frontenac's interest in the family of the Sieur de Soulanges continued to be manifested, for in the year 1691 he caused another large tract of land on the opposite side of the river (vis-a-vis la maison de Jemsec) to be granted to the widow of the late

governor. This grant included the greater part of the present parish of Gagetown. The seigniories granted to Soulanges and his widow, however, were of no permanent value to their descendants ; the titles lapsed on account of non-fulfilment of the required conditions and the lands were subsequently occupied by other French settlers.

La Vallière succeeded Soulanges and was for six years commander in Acadia. He cared little either for the dignity or honor of his position provided that he could use it for his own benefit. He established a settlement at the River St. John and engaged in fishing and trading. Many complaints were preferred against him. It was alleged that he encouraged the English to fish on the coasts, granting them licenses for the purpose, and that he traded with them in spite of the king's prohibition ; also that he robbed and defrauded the savages. The charges seem to have been well founded. An Indian captain named Negascouet says that as he was coming from Neguedhecouniedoche, his usual residence, the Sieur de la Vallière took from him by violence seventy moose skins, sixty martins, four beaver and two otter, without giving him any payment, and this was not the first time la Vallière had so acted.

In 1685 la Vallière was replaced by Perrot whose conduct was, if possible, more reprehensible than that of his predecessor. He was so intent upon his own gain that he thought nothing of himself selling brandy to the Indians by the pint and half-pint before strangers and in his own house, rather an undignified occupation for a royal governor of Acadia.

Such examples on the part of those in authority naturally found many imitators, indeed there was at this time a general disposition on the part of the young men

of the better families in New France to become "coureurs de bois," or rangers of the woods, rather than cultivators of the soil. The life of a coureur de bois was wild and full of adventure, involving toil and exposure, but the possible profits were great and the element of danger appeared only as an additional fascination. The rulers of New France enacted stringent laws against these "outlaws of the bush" but they were of little avail. The governor of Quebec felt compelled to represent the conduct of the Canadian noblesse in unfavorable terms to his royal master. "They do not," he writes, "devote themselves to improving their land, they mix up in trade and send their children to trade for furs in the Indian villages and in the depths of the forest in spite of the prohibition of his majesty."

The rapid progress of New England caused Louis XIV to express dissatisfaction at the slow development of Acadia, and he desired a report of the state of the colony to be transmitted to Versailles. Monsieur de Meulles, the intendant, accordingly visited Acadia in 1686 where he found the French settlements "in a neglected and desolate state." He caused a census to be taken which showed the total population to be 915 souls, including the garrison at Port Royal. There were at that time only five or six families on the St. John river. The Indians on the river were ministered to by missionaries of the Recollet order. At the time of Monseigneur St. Vallier's visit in 1686 they were beginning quite generally to embrace Christianity. Some of them lived near the Jemseg Fort, where in July, 1680, the missionary Moireau, baptized nine Indian children of ages varying from five months to nineteen years. Medoctec was undoubtedly the principal Indian village on the St. John at this period.

It was situated on the west bank of the river eight miles below the Town of Woodstock. Here the Maliseets had a palisaded fort and large cabin, similar to that at the village Ouigoudy on Navy Island, where de Monts was welcomed by Chkoudun in 1604. The only other fortification constructed by the Indians on the St. John river, so far as known, was that at the mouth of the Nerepis, at Woodman's Point, called by Villebon, in 1697, "Fort de Sauvages de Nerepisse." This was a palisaded enclosure, and on Southack's map is marked "Wooden Fort." Hitherto the Indians of Acadia had lived peaceably with the whites, but the closing years of the seventeenth century were destined to witness a sad transformation.

There lived at Quebec in the latter part of the seventeenth century one Charles le Moyne, seigneur de Longueuil who is called by Charlevoix the Baron de Becancourt; he was of Norman extraction, but his sons were natives of New France. As was the custom with the French Noblesse each son adopted a surname derived from some portion of the ancient family estate. Five of Becancourt's sons, Menneval, Portneuf, Villebon, d'Iberville and des Isles were prominent in the affairs of Acadia.

The conduct of Perrot as governor had given rise to such dissatisfaction that in 1687 he was replaced by Menneval. The new governor was carefully instructed concerning his duties. He was to rebuild the defences of Acadia, to resist the encroachments of the English, to suppress the lawless trade of the Coureurs de bois, to deal kindly and honestly with the savages, taking care to promote their conversion to the Christian faith, and to restore to the crown all seigniories or granted lands not occupied or improved.

The year that followed Menneval's appointment was notable for the outbreak of the most dreadful Indian war in the annals of Acadia. All the tribes east of the Merrimac took part in it, including the Maliseets. This war is known in history as King William's war, from the name of the English monarch in whose reign it occurred. It lasted with little intermission for ten years, and during its progress the settlers of eastern New England suffered the most fearful outrages at the hands of the infuriated savages. Every settlement in Maine save Wells, York, Kittery and the Isle of Shoals was over-run, and a thousand white people killed or taken prisoners.

As in the case of many other wars which the Indians have waged with the whites, the latter were responsible for its origin. Twelve years before it broke out, Major Waldron had treacherously seized a band of Indians at Dover in New Hampshire and sent them to Boston, where several of them were hanged for alleged complicity in Philip's war and others sold into slavery. This act the Indians never forgot nor forgave.

The immediate cause of King William's war, however, was the ill considered action of Governor Andros in pillaging the trading post of Baron de St. Castin, at Penobscot. St. Castin had formerly served in the Carignan Salières regiment under Frontenac, but for twenty years had lived in this region, where he married a daughter of the Maliseet chieftain Madockawando and was highly esteemed by the savages.

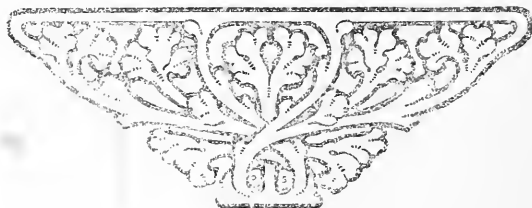
At the instigation of St. Castin and Madockawando the Indians decided to take the war path. The first notable incident in the war was the destruction of Dover, where Major Waldron and twenty-two others were killed

and twenty-nine taken prisoners. This occurred in June, 1689, and the story of the affair, as told by the St. John River Indians to their English captive, John Gyles, is in substance as follows :

There was a truce with the Indians for some days, during which time two squaws came into the garrison. They told Major Waldron that a number of Indians were not far away with a considerable quantity of beaver and would be there to trade with him the next day. The weather was inclement and the women begged leave to lodge in the garrison. Some of the people were much opposed to this, but the major said : "Let the poor creatures lodge by the fire." The defences of the place were of the weakest kind, the gates had no locks but were fastened with pins and the garrison kept no watch. The squaws had a favorable opportunity to prosecute their design. They went into every apartment, observing the number in each, and when all the people were asleep arose and opened the gates, gave the signal agreed upon and the other Indians came to them. Having received an account of the state of the garrison, they divided their forces according to the number of the people in each apartment and soon took or killed them all. Major Waldron lodged within an inner room, and when the Indians broke in upon him he cried out : "What now ! What now !" and jumping out of his bed seized his sword and drove them before him through two or three doors, but upon his turning about towards the apartment he had just left, an Indian came behind him and knocked him on the head with his hatchet, which stunned him and he fell. They then seized him, dragged him out, and setting him upon a long table, bade him "judge Indians

again." Then they cut and stabbed him and he cried out "O Lord! O Lord!" They called for his book of accounts and ordered him to cross out all the Indian debts, he having traded much with them. Then one and another gashed his naked breast, saying in derision: "I cross out my account." Then cutting a joint from a finger, one would say: "Will your fist weigh a pound now?" This in allusion to his having sometimes used his fist as a pound weight in buying and selling. And so they proceeded to torture him to death with every refinement of savage cruelty, after which they burned the garrison post and drew off.

A few days after this tragic event a number of people were killed by the Indians at Saco, and in the month of August the important post of Pemaquid, midway between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers, was taken and the adjoining settlement destroyed. According to Charlevoix a large number of St. John river Indians participated in this exploit. Among their prisoners was the lad named Gyles whose experience during the nine years he lived in captivity on the St. John river is told in his interesting narrative published in Boston in 1736. We are greatly indebted to him for the knowledge we possess of the life of the Indians of the River St. John. two centuries ago.



## CHAPTER VII.

Frontenac Sends an Expedition to New England and Captures Falmouth — Villebon's Career in Acadia — Fort St. Joseph at Nashwaak — French and Indian Allies Make Desperate War on New England Settlements — French Warships Came to St. John Annually with Supplies.



EARLY in 1690 Frontenac despatched an expedition from Quebec to ravage the New England settlements; their leader was Portneuf, the brother of Menneval and Villebon. There were fifty French and seventy Indians in the original party, which was afterwards joined by thirty-six French and a large band of Maliseets from the St. John, and also by the Indians of Passamaquoddy and Penobscot, making a war party of five hundred men. On the 26th of May they attacked the town of Falmouth — now Portland. The inhabitants fled for protection within the ramparts of Fort Loyal. After four or five days the garrison was obliged to surrender and Portneuf promised the vanquished quarter and a guard to the nearest English town. The terms of surrender were shamefully violated, Fort Loyal and Falmouth were reduced to ashes and over one hundred men, women and children murdered by the savages. From May to October their bodies lay exposed to the elements and wild beasts but were finally buried by Major Benjamin Church as he passed on an expedition to the eastward.

To avenge themselves on the French, whom they regarded as the instigators of this savage warfare, the New Englanders fitted out an expedition under Sir William Phipps which captured Port Royal and carried off Menneval a prisoner. Villebon now succeeded to the command, he concluded to abandon Port Royal and re-establish the post at the mouth of the Jemseg.

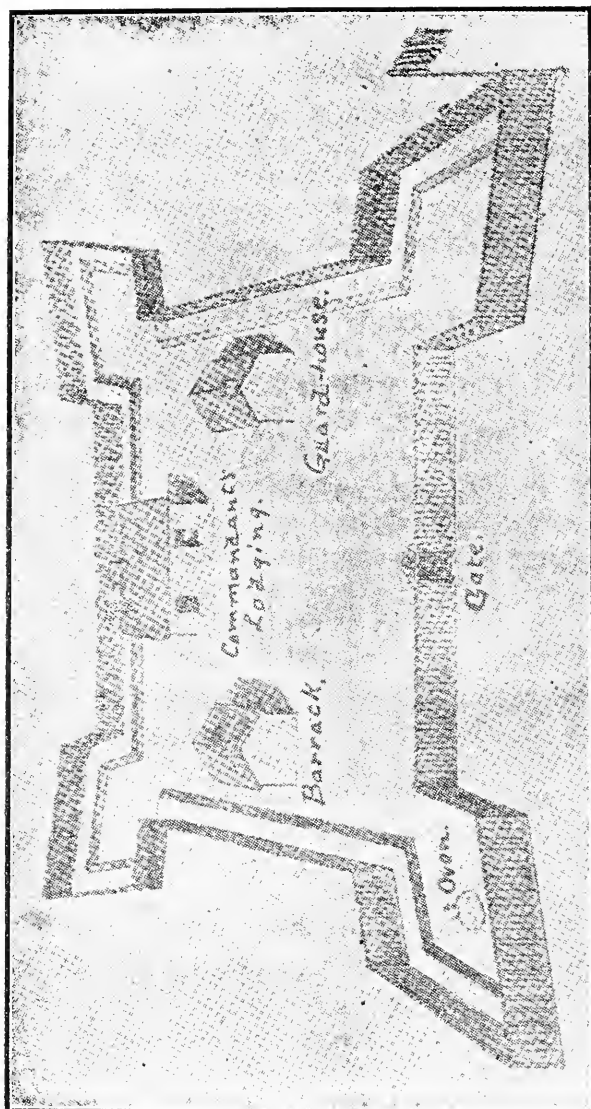
Villebon, with all his faults, is one of the most picturesque characters in the history of Acadia. He was greatly admired by the savages who deemed him to be every inch a chief. Diéreville, the poet historian, saw him at St. John in 1700 and describes him as "a great man of fine appearance and full of energy." Having served for several years at Port Royal in a subordinate capacity, he was now called upon to fill a difficult position, and it must be confessed he acted with great ability and zeal. Adverse fortune embittered him at the outset. Two pirate vessels came to Port Royal while he was preparing for his removal to the St. John river. The marauders burned houses and killed cattle and even hanged two of the inhabitants and burned a woman and her children. What was worse for Villebon, they captured the ship *Union*, just arrived from France with merchandize, provisions, ammunition and presents for the Indians.

Villebon, however, was well fitted for such an emergency; he assembled his dusky allies, explained the loss of their presents and offered himself to go to their father, the King of France, for more. The Indians pledged him their fidelity and promised one hundred and fifty warriors in the spring to aid him in his designs.

At the court of France Villebon was favorably received and returned with a commission from the king as com-

mander of Acadia. Soon after this he abandoned the Jemseg Fort and moved up the river to the mouth of the Nashwaak where, in the upper angle formed by the junction of that river with the St. John, he built in 1692 a new fort which he called Fort St. Joseph. It was an ordinary palisaded fort about one hundred and twenty feet square, four bastions, and had eight cannon mounted. In the old French documents of the period it is usually called Fort Nachouac, but with many varieties of spelling, such as Naxoat, Naxouac, Natchouak.

The greater portion of the fort site has been washed away, but traces of the ramparts were visible within the memory of those still living, and many cannon balls and such like relics have been found in the vicinity. The accompanying illustration, based upon a sketch in the archives de la Marine in Paris, will serve to give an idea of the general plan of the fort. The space enclosed by the palisade was about one hundred and twenty-five feet square. The general arrangement of the buildings is shown in the plan. At the front there was a gate composed of two or three thicknesses of plank, cannon were mounted at the corners, or bastions, and in the lower left hand corner of the sketch is shown a bake oven. At the rear of the enclosure we find the commandant's lodging, on the right side the guard house and on the left the soldier's barracks. A small room in the left end of the commandant's lodging was fitted up as a chapel. The ditches and ramparts that surrounded the enclosure added considerably to the strength of the defences. The bastions were so arranged that the space outside the walls was commanded by the musketry fire of the defenders. The loopholes at the corners, from which the fire was delivered, are shown in the sketch.



FORT NACHOUAC, A.D. 1692.

The garrison at Fort Nashwaak was small, comprising about forty soldiers, an armorer, gunner and surgeon. There was also a chaplain of the Recollet order, Father Elizeé, who is described as a man so retiring by nature as to meddle with nothing outside his ministerial duty. This was not the case with some of the missionary priests, however, who influenced by patriotic motives and encouraged by the French authorities took quite an energetic part in the warfare waged against New England. The only woman who lived within the ramparts of the Fort was the wife of the armorer. She was considered one of the garrison and received her daily allowance with the rest.

Villebon had been some years in Acadia at this time for Bishop St. Vallier says that he was in command of the garrison at Port Royal in 1686. He had ample opportunity of becoming familiar with the country and its native inhabitants, and was well fitted to second the ambitious designs of the French, which embraced the destruction of New York and the conquest of New England.

When Count Frontenac came to Quebec in 1689, to fill for the second time the position of Governor and Commander-in-Chief, he was in his seventieth year but as full of vigor and determination as ever. It was part of his plan to employ the savages to wear down and discourage the English settlers and so to pave the way for French dominion. He had no abler lieutenants than the sons of Charles le Moyne. Immediately after his arrival, Frontenac induced the savages to begin those operations against the English settlements known as the "winter raids." Having decided that he could succeed in holding Canada for the French crown only by

enlisting the aid of the savages, he saw that to secure their cooperation he must permit them to make war in their own savage way, and so from all the doomed hamlets came the horrifying tale of houses burned and of men, women and children slaughtered or carried into captivity.

It is difficult at this distant day to conceive the horrors of this savage warfare on the New England frontiers. The Indians roamed over the country like wolves, and the white settlers never knew when their appalling war whoop would ring in their startled ears. It was an age of cruelty and the outrages provoked reprisals on the part of the New Englanders. The fact that in several of the raids the savages were led by French officers, led to bitter race hatred and mutual distrust between the descendants of the Saxon and the Gaul, which lasted for generations.

A desultory warfare followed the destruction of Falmouth in which more than two hundred houses were burned in various parts of the country, and Frontenac himself spoke of the ravages of the savages as "impossible to describe." On the 5th February, 1692, they raided the frontier settlement of York, which they left in ashes after killing about seventy-five persons and taking one hundred prisoners—among those killed was the venerable Mr. Dummer, the minister of the place.

With the opening of the spring time Villebon received a delegation of one hundred Kennebec and Penobscot warriors at his fort. The visitors were welcomed with imposing ceremonies followed by the usual interchange of compliments, speeches were made by the chiefs and captains, presents from the king distributed and the inevitable banquet followed with mirth and revelry. It

was now agreed to organize a great war party. Couriers were dispatched to summon all the tribes of Acadia and the response was general. The site of what is now the village of Gibson, opposite Fredericton, was dotted with the encampments of the Indians, and as the warriors arrived and departed, arrayed in their war paint and feathers, the scene was animated and picturesque. The Maliseets of the St. John sent a delegation from Medoctec, the Micmacs of the Miramichi arrived a few days later, and then another band from Beaubassin accompanied by Father Baudoin, their priest. Speeches of welcome, presents and feasts were made in turn to all, and each band proceeded by the well known route to the rendezvous on the Penobscot. Here there soon assembled a war party of at least four hundred men, including a score of Frenchmen. Their first raid was upon the little village of Wells, where there were only thirty men to resist the attack, but they were led by Captain Converse, a courageous and determined officer, who had already tried the mettle of the savages and was not to be overawed by numbers. The Indians advanced with hideous yells, firing and calling on the English to surrender, but their only answer was the bullets of the defenders. Even the women of the settlement took part in the fight, passing ammunition to the men, loading their guns, and sometimes themselves firing on the enemy.

The savages became discouraged and offered favorable terms to the garrison. Converse replied: "We want nothing but men to fight with." An Indian, who could speak English, shouted, "Don't stay in the house like a squaw, come out and fight like a man!" Converse replied: "Do you think I am fool enough to come out

with thirty men to fight five hundred !” The Indians at length abandoned the attack and retired greatly crest fallen. Thus a few determined men foiled one of the most formidable bands that ever took the war path in Acadia.

Some of the horrors of Indian warfare almost pass description, and if Villebon did not sanction he did little to hinder the atrocities of his savage allies. He writes in his journal, “An English savage was taken on the lower part of the St. John river ; I gave him to our savages to be burned, which they did the next day ; it was impossible to add to the torments that they made him suffer. ”

At times, the Indians appear to have grown weary of fighting. Their failure at Wells, the rebuilding of Fort Pemaquid, the erection of other fortifications by the now thoroughly aroused New Englanders, the desire for the ransom of relatives held as hostages, and a suspicion that the French were making use of them solely in their own interest inclined them to make peace. Villebon exerted all his influence to keep them on the war path. He flattered and feasted the chiefs, made presents to the warriors, provided powder and shot for their hunting and finally adopted Taxous, one of their most famous chiefs, as his brother and to honor the occasion gave him his own best coat.

The journals and correspondence of Villebon are full of interest at this period. There came annually to Menagoeche ( or St. John harbor ) a man of war with supplies for Fort Nachouac and a variety of articles for the Indians. In 1693, for example, the frigate “Suzanne ” brought out for the “Malecites ” a supply of powder, lead, guns and bayonets ; also shirts, blankets,

laced hats, etc. The arrival of the annual warship was eagerly looked for by the Indians and Villebon was able to make good use of the articles he received. John Gyles in his narrative speaks of the arrival of the ships from France. "There came annually," he says, "one or two men of war to supply the fort which was on the river about thirty-four leagues from the sea. The Indians of Medoctec having advice of the arrival of a man of war at the mouth of the river, they about forty in number went on board, for the gentlemen from France made a present to them every year, and set forth the riches and victories of their monarch, etc. At this time they presented the Indians with a bag or two of flour with some prunes as ingrediants for a feast. I, who was dressed up in an old greasy blanket without cap, hat or shirt, ( for I had no shirt for six years, except the one I had on at the time I was made prisoner ) was invited into the great cabin, where many well-rigged gentlemen were sitting, who would fain have had a full view of me. I endeavored to hide myself behind the hangings, for I was much ashamed, thinking how I had once worn clothes and of my living with people who could rig as well as the best of them \* \* \* This was the first time I had seen the sea during my captivity, and the first time I had tasted salt or bread. My master presently went on shore and a few days later all the Indians went up the river."

In spite of Villebon's ability and zeal in the service of his country serious complaints were made against him by some of the Acadians living on the St. John. They asserted that by threats and illusage he had caused several of the settlers to abandon their habitations and remove to Quebec with their families ; that he tried to monopolize the fur trade, sending his brothers Portneuf

and des Isles into the woods to engage in unlawful traffic with the Indians ; that the former was guilty of gross immorality and the latter sold the peltry obtained from the savages to one John Alden, an Englishman, by whom it was carried to Boston. John Alden was the eldest son of the famous John Alden of the " Mayflower," by his wife Priscilla, the Puritan maiden immortalized by Longfellow. Alden made many trading voyages to the Bay of Fundy and on several occasions narrowly escaped capture.

That there was some ground for the charges preferred against Villebon seems likely from the fact that most of the missionaries censured him and confirmed the reports of the inhabitants concerning the misconduct of his brothers. The chaplain at Fort Nachouac, however, spoke favorably of Villebon, although he was silent with regard to Portneuf. In his letters to the authorities in France, Villebon vigorously replies to his accusers and brings counter charges ; he is seemingly very indignant with the brothers d'Amours of whom we shall hear more in another chapter.

In consequence of the charges preferred against him Portneuf was superseded by Villieu, an officer of reputation whom Count Frontenac sent to Acadia in October, 1693, to lead the savages against the English. The new lieutenant, spent the winter at the Nashwaak fort. As soon as the ice was out of the river he went in a canoe to Medoctec, where he assembled the chiefs who promised to assist him. He then proceeded to Penobscot, resolved to put an end to the parleys that the savages had been holding with the English and to incite them to renewed hostilities. After a week's negotiation, in which he was aided by the powerful influence of the missionaries.

Bigot and Thury, he returned to Fort Nachouac with a delegation of Indians to receive the presents which the King of France had sent. He endeavored at the same time to secure the assistance of some of Villebon's men. The governor, however, piqued by the dismissal of Portneuf, contented himself with entertaining the delegates. He declined to furnish provisions or supplies, and kept his soldiers from joining the expedition. Father Simon, the Recollet missionary on the St. John, also displayed little sympathy with Villieu and kept many of the Indians from joining him. However, by the help of the Penobscot and Kennebec tribes a band of two hundred and fifty warriors was at last collected and Villieu placed himself at their head arrayed in the war paint and feathers of an Indian chief. It was decided to strike a blow at the settlement of Oyster River, twelve miles from Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The English settlers had been informed that peace had been made and that they could now work with safety on their farms. They were in consequence totally unprepared for an attack, and among their unprotected houses the carnage was horrible. One hundred persons, chiefly women and children, half naked from their beds, were tomahawked, shot, or killed by slower and more cruel methods, twenty-seven were kept as prisoners.

After some minor depredations, Villieu went to Montreal accompanied by several Indian chiefs. He presented a string of English scalps to Count Frontenac as a token of their success and received his hearty congratulations. Villieu stated the results of the campaign to be: "Two small forts and fifty or sixty houses captured and burnt; one hundred and thirty English killed or made prisoners." He had done his

work all too well and had sown such seeds of distrust between the people of New England and the Indians as to render it almost impossible to re-establish peace. The enmity lasted for generations and almost every year witnessed some act of hostility even though the crowns of France and England were themselves at peace.

In the midst of their triumphs an appalling pestilence swept away great numbers of the savages. On the River St. John more than one hundred and twenty persons died, including some of the most noted warriors and their chief. The pestilence scattered the savages in all directions and for a time their town of Medoctec was abandoned. A party of warriors who went with Montigny, to assist their brethren to the westward was sent back to Medoctec for fear of the contagion. The nature of the disease it is impossible at this distance of time to determine. It could scarcely have been smallpox, according to the description of John Gyles, who says: "A person seeming in perfect health would bleed at the mouth and nose, turn blue in spots and die in two or three hours." The first outbreak of the pestilence was in the autumn of 1694. A year later Mon. Tibierge, agent of the company of Acadia, writes that "the plague had broken out afresh: there had died on the river more than 120 persons of every age and sex."

The pestilence did not put a stop to the Indian warfare. Villebon assembled at his fort representatives of all the tribes of Acadia, including fourteen chiefs and their attendant captains. The conference lasted three days and the proceedings are reported at length in his journal. After the customary feasting and distribution of presents a standard of prices for the purchase and

sale of furs and other goods was agreed upon more favorable to the natives than heretofore. The chiefs departed resolved to continue the war. Their opportunity did not come until the following summer when the combined efforts of the French and Indians resulted in the destruction of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid. This fortress had lately been rebuilt by the colony of Massachusetts at a cost of £20,000 and was the strongest work the English colonists had up to that time erected in America. The walls had a compass in all of 747 feet and were of solid masonry, varying from 10 to 22 feet in height. Eight feet from the ground, where the walls had a thickness of six feet, there was a tier of 28 port holes. At one corner was a round tower 29 feet high. The fort was well manned and provisioned and was thought to be impregnable.

The leader of the enterprise, which accomplished the destruction of Fort William Henry was Villebon's brother, d'Iberville, whose romantic career has earned for him the title of "the Cid of New France." D'Iberville's Indian auxiliaries included Micmacs from Cape Breton, a large band of Maliseets and many of the Indians of Passamaquoddy, Penobscot and Kennebec. Two warships lately arrived from Quebec, accompanied the expedition.

Villebon left his fort on the 18th June to go to "Menagoesche" to await the coming of the French ships. On his arrival he discovered the British ships Sorlings of 34 guns and Newport of 24 guns cruising near the harbor and sent information to d'Iberville in order that he might guard against surprise. Soon after entering the Bay of Fundy the French vessels sighted their antagonists and an engagement ensued in the

course of which d'Iberville in the *Envieux* dismasted the *Newport*, and obliged her to surrender. Favored by night and fog the *Sorlings* managed to escape after a combat with the *Profond* lasting three hours. The next day, July 15, 1696, the vessels anchored at St. John Harbor, where they were welcomed by Villebon and Father Simon and their band of Indians. Before proceeding to Pemaquid an attempt was made to capture John Alden at Port Royal but with his usual good luck he had sailed thence just before the arrival of the French. Villebon with Father Simon's assistance had contrived to collect 150 Maliseets and Micmacs to join the expedition under his brother, and he was further reinforced by a small vessel owned and commanded by the *Sieur de Chauffours*, an inhabitant of the St. John River.

The setting out of the expedition was not auspicious for on leaving St. John ("havre de Menuagoesche," as Villebon calls it) on the 2nd of August, d'Iberville ran the *Envieux* upon a reef; however, the damage was not serious as the ship floated when the tide rose. At Penobscot Baron St. Castin joined the expedition with 130 Indians. The French priests Simon and Thury, were no mere figure heads; they actively assisted in the operations of the siege and at the same time restrained the passions of the savages. Batteries were erected within half cannon shot of the fort and it was summoned to surrender. Captain Chubb, the commander, proved to be a weak man for so responsible a position. At first he replied that though the sea were covered with French ships and the land with Indians he would not surrender, but the very next day he ignominiously pulled down his flag. D'Iberville sent the garrison to Boston in the vessel

of the *Sieur de Chauffours* of the *St. John River*. The people of *New England* were greatly vexed at the loss of *Fort Pemaquid* and enraged at *Chubb's* cowardly conduct. *Father Simon* got back to *Fort Nachouac* on the 29th August bringing the news of *d'Iberville's* success.

It was now proposed by the French authorities to re-establish the port at the mouth of the *St. John*. The old fort of four bastions so far remained that it could be restored ; the ditches needed to be deepened, the parapets raised and new palisades constructed. It was thought that one hundred and fifty men would suffice to garrison the post and also that at *Nachouac*. The fort was needed for the protection of the French privateers and for trading with the savages. Many English prizes were brought to *Menagoeche* at this time by the French privateersmen *Baptiste* and *Guyon*. The company of *Acadia*, with *Tibierge* as their agent, continued to carry on a thriving fur trade, and it seems, too, that the timber of the country was beginning to attract attention for *Villebon* sent home to France as a specimen, a mast 82 feet long, 31 inches in diameter at one end and 21 at the other.

The French privateers were not allowed to ply their vocation with impunity and they often had spirited encounters with the British in which there were losses on both sides.

In 1694, *Robineau*, of *Nantes*, who had taken several English vessels, was forced to burn his ship in *St. John* harbor, in order to escape capture by the English, and to defend himself on shore. The vessels employed as privateers evidently were small, for they sometimes went up the river to *Villebon's* fort. The prisoners were kept at the fort or put in charge of the French inhabitants

living on the river, and from time to time ransomed by their friends or exchanged for prisoners taken by the English. Villebon informs us that in June, 1695, an English frigate and a sloop arrived at Menagoeche on business connected with the ransom of eight captives who were then in the hands of the French. Messages were exchanged and the captain of the English ship, a jovial old tar, expressed a wish to drink with Governor Villebon and to meet Captain Baptiste, whom he called "a brave man," but his overtures were declined.

The ships *Envieux* and *Profond*, before proceeding to the attack of Fort Pemaquid, landed at St. John a number of cannon and a quantity of material of all sorts to be used in the construction of the new fort. The project was not viewed with complacency by the people of New England. Lieut.-Governor William Stoughton, of Massachusetts, wrote to Major Benjamin Church, who had been sent from Boston in August, 1696, on an expedition to the eastward; "Sir, His Majesty's ship *Oxford* having lately surprised a French shallop with 23 of the soldiers belonging to the fort upon St. John's river in Nova Scotia, together with Villieu, their captain, providence seems to encourage the forming of an expedition to attack that fort, and to disrest and remove the enemy from that post, which is the chief source from whence the most of our disasters do issue, and also to favor with an opportunity for gaining out of their hands the ordnance, artillery, and other warlike stores and provisions lately supplied to them from France for erecting a new fort near the river's mouth, whereby they will be greatly strengthened and the reducing of them rendered more difficult."

Before this letter was placed in Major Church's hands he had arrived at St. John, having previously devastated

the French settlements at Chignecto. Being desirous, if possible, to surprise the men who were at work upon the new fort, Church landed at Manawagonish Cove, a little to the west of the harbor; what followed we shall let him tell in his own quaint fashion. "Next morning early the Major, with his forces, landed to see what discovery they could make, travelled across the woods to the old fort or falls at the mouth of St. John's river, keeping themselves undiscovered from the enemy. Finding that there were several men at work, and having informed themselves as much as they could returned back — the enemy being on the other side of the river could not come at them. But night coming on and dark wet weather with bad travelling, were obliged to stop in the woods till towards next day morning and then went on board. Soon after the Major ordered all the vessels to come to sail and go into the mouth of the river, the French firing briskly at them, but did them no harm, and running fiercely upon the enemy they soon fled to the woods. The Major ordered a brisk party to run across a neck to cut them off from their canoes which the day before they had made a discovery of. So the commander, with the rest, ran directly towards the new fort they were building, not knowing but they had some ordnance mounted. The enemy running directly to their canoes were met by our forces who fired at them and killed one and wounded Corporal Canton, who was taken. The rest threw down what they had and ran into the woods. The prisoner Canton being brought to the Major told him if he would let his surgeon dress his wound and cure him he would be serviceable to him as long as he lived. So it being dressed he was examined and gave the Major an account of the twelve great guns which were hid in the beach,

below high water mark — the carriages, shot, and wheelbarrows, some flour and pork all hid in the woods.

“ The next morning the officers being all ordered to meet together to consult about going to Vilboon’s fort, and none amongst them being acquainted but the Aldens, who said the water in the river was very low so that they could not get up to the fort ; and the prisoner Canton told the commander that what the Aldens said was true \* \* so concluded it was not practicable to proceed. Then ordered some of the forces to get the great guns on board the open sloops and the rest to range the woods for the enemy, who took one prisoner and brought him in. \* \* Now having with a great deal of pains and trouble got all the guns, shot and other stores aboard intended on our design which we came out first for. But the wind not serving, the commander sent out his scouts into the woods to seek for the enemy. And four of our Indians coming upon three Frenchmen undiscovered, concluded that if the French should discover them they would fire at them and might kill one or more of them, which to prevent fired at the French, killed one and took the other two prisoners. And it happened that he who was killed was Shavelere ( Chevalier ), the chief man there. ”

Major Church now designed to make a raid on the settlement of Baron St. Castin and his Indians at Penobscot by way of retaliation for the destruction of the English Fort at Pemaquid, but as he was sailing down the bay he met a small squadron having on board a reinforcement of one hundred men under Colonel Hawthorne. The command now passed to Hawthorne as the senior officer, and it was decided to return and attempt the capture of Fort Nachouac. This decision was against the advice of Major Church, but as the expedition

now numbered about five hundred men, Hawthorne was unwilling to return to Boston without striking a blow at the French stronghold.

Throughout the proceedings already narrated Villebon was on the alert. He had stationed his ensign, Chevalier, with five scouts at the mouth of the river, and on the 4th of October learned of the arrival of the English at Menagoeche. Chevalier on the appearance of Church's ships off Partridge Island, sent word directly to Fort Nachouac. A day or two later he was killed by some of Church's Indians as already related. Villebon then sent his brother Neuvilleite down the river to continue the look out and in the meantime made every possible preparation for a siege. His garrison, numbering about one hundred soldiers, was employed in throwing up intrenchments and mounting additional guns, word was sent to the French inhabitants of the vicinity to repair to the fort and assist in its defence and an urgent message sent to Father Simon, the missionary at Medoctec, to get the Indians to come down as soon as possible to fight with the English. He lost not a moment and having sent out word on all sides (the Indians being then dispersed upon the river) he arrived on the afternoon of the 14th October with thirty-six warriors. Father Simon expressed his desire to remain at the fort, as the chaplain was absent. Two days later Neuvilleite returned and reported he had seen the enemy in great force about a league and a half below the Jemseg. The last preparations were now hurriedly made and on the evening of the 17th, Villebon caused the "generale" to be beat and the garrison being drawn up under arms he addressed them in stirring words, bidding them to maintain the honor of their country and

the reputation of French soldiers, adding that if any man should be maimed in the approaching combat the king would provide for him during the rest of his life. This speech created great enthusiasm and the cry of "Vive le roy" awoke the forest echoes and was borne over the waters. The same evening a dozen Frenchmen who lived in the vicinity came in to the fort. Among them were the brothers Mathieu and René d'Amours and the privateersman Baptiste. Villebon assigned to Baptiste and René d'Amours the duty of heading the Indians to oppose the landing of the English.

Everything being now in order for the defence of the fort, Villebon ordered the garrison to pass the night under arms, as from the barking of the dogs it was believed the enemy were drawing near. The next morning between eight and nine o'clock, whilst Father Simon was celebrating mass in the chapel, a shallop filled with armed men rounded the point below, followed by two others. The alarm was at once given and every man repaired to his post. The sloops approached within the distance of half a cannon shot when the guns of the fort opened on them and they were forced to retire below the point where they effected a landing. Villebon did not deem it prudent to oppose the landing as his men would have had to cross the Nashwaak River to do so and this would have been imprudent. The English took up a position on the south bank of the Nashwaak stream and threw up an earthwork upon which they placed two field guns from which they opened fire on the fort; a third gun of larger size was mounted soon afterwards nearer the fort, but not being sheltered it was not much used. The beseigers hoisted the royal standard of England and there were cheers and counter-

cheers on the part of the combatants. The cannon fire was heavy on both sides but the guns of the fort being better mounted and well served had rather the advantage. There was also a sharp exchange of musketry, the Indians, from the bushes along the shore, engaging in a vicious fight with Church's Indians on the opposite side of the stream. When darkness ended the day's struggle the English had made little or no progress. The following night being very cold they made fires to keep themselves from freezing, but this afforded a mark for the French cannon, which opened on them with grape shot, and they were obliged to put them out and suffer the inclemency of the weather. Major Church's men being almost bare of clothing from their long service, suffered extremely and were ill disposed to continue the siege. At daybreak the musketry fire from the fort recommenced and about 8 o'clock the English again got their guns into operation, but la Cote, who had distinguished himself the evening before by firing rapidly and accurately, dismounted one of their field guns and silenced the other.

It was now apparent that the fort could not be taken without a regular investment and in view of the lateness of the season this was not deemed possible. The Massachusetts historian Mather quaintly observes, "The difficulty of the cold season so discouraged our men that after some few shot the enterprise found itself under too much congelation to proceed any further." And so the following night the New England troops re-embarked after lighting fires over a considerable extent of ground in order to deceive the French. When the morning dawned their camp was deserted and Neuville, who was sent down the river to reconnoitre, reported that

after he had gone three leagues he found them embarked in four vessels of about 60 tons and going down the river with a fair wind. On their return to the mouth of the river the invaders burned the house and barns of Mathieu d'Amours at Freneuse, opposite the Oromocto, and laid waste his fields. The Sieur de Freneuse was himself so much injured by exposure during the siege that he died shortly afterwards. Major Church took back with him to Boston a Negro man of Marblehead, who had been for some time prisoner with the French. He was probably the first of his race within the borders of New Brunswick.

In the siege Villebon lost one man killed and two wounded, while the English loss is said to have been eight soldiers killed and five officers and twelve soldiers wounded.

The capture of Pemaquid by d'Iberville and the repulse of the English by Villebon greatly encouraged the savages, and the following summer another raid on the English settlements was planned. A large number of Micmacs came from the eastward, some of them from the Basin of Minas, with St. Cosmé, their priest, at their head. They were entertained by Villebon, furnished with ammunition and supplies and sent to the rendezvous at Penobscot. Father Simon and 72 Maliseets were sent to the same place soon afterwards with instructions to pick up the Passamaquoddies on their way; they departed in high spirits with the intention of giving no quarter to the enemy and Villebon encouraged their animosity, exhorting them "to burn and to destroy." This advice they followed to the letter for the Governor wrote in his journal shortly afterwards, "the missionary, M. de Thury, confirms the report I already had received

of four small parties of our Indians having killed fifteen or sixteen English and burnt one of them alive on account of one of their chiefs being slain." The vindictiveness of the Indians is illustrated by another incident that happened at the Medoctec village in which John Gyles and James Alexander, two English captives, were cruelly abused. A party of Indians from Cape Sable, having had some of their relatives killed by English fishermen, travelled all the way to Medoctec in order to wreak their vengeance upon such English captives as they might find. They rushed upon the unfortunate captives like bears bereaved of their whelps, saying, "Shall we, who have lost our relatives by the English, suffer an English voice to be heard among us?" The two captives were brutally beaten, grossly ill used — and made to go through a variety of performances for the amusement of their tormentors. Gyles says: "They put a tomahawk into my hands and ordered me to get up, sing and dance Indian, which I performed with the greatest reluctance, and while in the act seemed determined to purchase my death by killing two or three of these monsters of cruelty, thinking it impossible to survive the bloody treatment. . . . Not one of them showed the least compassion, but I saw the tears run down plentifully on the cheeks of a Frenchman who sat behind." The tortures were continued until the evening of what Gyles calls "a very tedious day." Finally a couple of Indians threw the two wretched men out of the big wigwam, where they had been tormented; they crawled away on their hands and knees and were scarcely able to walk for several days.

The experience of Gyles, however was as nothing in comparison to that of his brother and another captive

taken by the Indians at the same time as himself. This unfortunate pair attempted to desert, but failed and were subjected to the most horrible tortures and finally burned alive by the savages.

The people of the frontier settlements were now on the alert and, although the Indians roamed over the country like wolves, they were usually prepared to meet them. Every little village had its block house and its sentinels, and every farmer worked in his fields with his musket at his side. Nevertheless tragic events occasionally happened. In mid-winter, Captain Chubb, of Pemaquid notoriety, and six others were killed by the Indians at Andover where several of the inhabitants were captured and many houses burned; Major Frost was slain at Kittery and a number of people at Wells; Major Marsh had a sharp fight near Pemaquid, in which he lost twenty-five of his men, but succeeded in putting the savages to rout. This was the last blood shed during King William's war. The Indians were becoming weary of fighting and the peace of Ryswick deprived them of the open assistance of their French allies. For a brief season peace reigned in Acadia.

The expedition under Church had interrupted the rebuilding of the fort at St. John and shown the correctness of Villebon's statement that it was impossible with the few men at his disposal to attempt a work which, though easy to repair, could not be completed as quickly as the enemy could get ready to destroy it. In the same letter he speaks of making planks at Nachouac for the madriers, or gun platforms of the fort at Menagoeche. How were these planks cut? At first thought one might assume that they were made in saw pits by the garrison. The proximity of the magnificent mill privilege not far

from the mouth of the Nashwaak river, where the well-known saw-mills of Alexander Gibson were established many years since, not unnaturally suggests the question might there not have been a saw-mill there in the days of Villebon ?

The census of 1695 answers the question. Here is what it says ; "Naxouat, of which the Sieur de Chofour is seignior, is where the fort commanded by Mon. de Villebon is established. The Sieur de Chofour has here a house, 30 acres of land under cultivation and a mill, begun by the Sieur de Chofour and his brother the Sieur de Freneuse. This mill doubtless was a primitive affair, but it sawed lumber, and was in its modest way the pioneer of the greatest manufacturing industry in New Brunswick at the present day.

The plan of the fort at St. John was now agreed on and 3,000 livres granted for its construction. Villebon paid his workmen 30 sous ( about 30 cts. ) a day, his laborers 20 sous, and the soldiers 4 sous in addition to their pay and a weekly allowance of 1 qr. lb. tobacco. The walls of the fort were laid in clay and mortar and 24 pounders were placed at the bastions. By the end of the year Villebon was able to report the fort in a condition to do honor to whoever should defend it. He left Nachouac just as it was, with two men in charge to see that nothing was spoiled by the savages.

A plan in the Marine Archives at Paris, made by Villieu in 1700, shows that fort de la Rivière de St. Jean, or Fort Menagoeche, was constructed at the Old Fort Site," opposite Navy Island in Carleton. The general plan was the same as that of Fort Nachouac, but the fort was considerably larger. Within the enclosure were barracks for the soldiers, a residence for the governor

with small chapel adjoining it, a house for the soldiers of the garrison, lodgings for the surgeon, gunner and armorer, a small prison and a well, and just outside the gate were two bake-houses. The water supply of the fort seems always to have been inadequate. The Sieur des Goutins, who disliked Villebon, complained that the Governor kept the water within the fort for the exclusive use of his kitchen and his mare, others being obliged to use snow-water, often very dirty. Dièreville, who visited St. John during his short stay in Acadia, describes the fort as built of earth, with four bastions fraised (or picketed) each having six large guns. A new industry was now coming into existence, namely the shipping of masts to France for the King's navy. Dièreville, sailed to France in the *Avenant*, a good King's ship, mounting 44 guns, which had brought out ammunition and provisions for the Fort. This ship took on board a number of fine masts that fourteen carpenters and mast makers had manufactured at the River St. John. The vessel left Acadia on the 6th of October and reached France in thirty-three days.



## CHAPTER VIII.

French Settlers on the St. John — Seigneuries of the d'Amours Brothers —  
Death of Villebon — Abandonment of Fort Jemseg — River St. John  
Deserted in 1702 owing to War — Louis d'Armours Taken Prisoner  
by the English — Career of Madame Freneuse.



SOMETHING should now be said about the French settlers on the St. John in the days when Villebon ruled at Fort Nachouac as the governor of Acadia. There lived at Quebec one Mathieu d'Amours a member of the Supreme Council. He married in 1652, Marie Marselot, daughter of Nicolas Marselot of Quebec. She was a very young bride, being only fourteen years old at the time of her marriage. She was the mother of fifteen children. It is not to be wondered at that Mathieu d'Amours used his political influence as a member of the Council to make some provision for his large family. Four of his sons were among the young adventurers who came about the close of the 17th century to Acadia and to each was granted a seigniory with ample boundaries. That of Louis d'Amours included a large tract of land at the Richibucto river. The grant was dated September 20, 1684, but the seignior had already built a fort and two small houses, and for two years had been cultivating his land. His sojourn there was brief, for in a year or two we find him at the River St. John, where his brothers Mathieu and René were settled and where they were not long after joined by their brother Bernard. The wives of Louis

and Mathieu d'Amours were sisters, Marguerite and Louise Guyon of Quebec.

Among the French *noblesse* it was customary for each son to take a surname derived from some portion of the ancient family estate; accordingly the sons of the Councillor d'Amours figure in history as Louis d'Amours, Sieur de Chauffours; Mathieu d'Amours, Sieur de Freneuse; René d'Amours, Sieur de Clignancourt, and Bernard d'Amours, Sieur de Plenne.

Louis d'Amours fixed his abode at the old fort on the banks of the Jemseg and became the proprietor of the seigniory formerly granted to the Sieur de Soulanges. His brother Mathieu's seigniory included the land "between Gemisik and Nachouac," two leagues in depth on each side of the river. The residence of Mathieu d'Amours, Sieur de Freneuse, was probably either on or directly opposite Middle Island, a few miles below the Oromocto, for when the river first became known to English speaking people this island was called "Farnese" — evidently a corruption of "Freneuse." The seigniory at the mouth of the Nashwaak, formerly granted the Sieur de Soulanges now passed into possession of Louis d'Amours, Sieur de Chauffours.

To René d'Amours, Sieur de Clignancourt, was granted a seigniory extending from the Indian village of Medoctec to the "longue sault," or Grand Falls — a distance of more than ninety miles. The Sieur de Clignancourt, however, fixed his headquarters a few miles above Nachouac at or near Eccles Island, which was formerly called "Cleoncore" — a corruption of Clignancourt. An old census stated that he lived in that vicinity in 1696, with his wife and four children and this is confirmed in part by the statement in an official report

of the same year that he lived a league from Fort Nachouac. René d'Amours had an extensive trade with the Indians. His wife was Charlotte le Gardeur of Quebec.

Bernard d'Amours, the youngest of the quartette, came to Acadia rather later than his brothers and was granted a seigniory at Canibecachice (Kennebecasis), a league and a half along each side of the river and two leagues in depth. He married Jeanne le Borgne, a grand-daughter of Charles la Tour, and their son Alexander was baptized at Port Royal in 1702 by a Recollet missionary.

The brothers d'Amours were in the prime of life when they came to Acadia. They found their situation exceedingly convenient for hunting and trade with the Indians. Governor Villebon viewed them with a jealous eye and mentioned them in very unfavorable terms in his dispatches. His dislike was intensified by the attitude of Louis d'Amours who so far from playing the courtier represented to the French minister in 1692 that the Governor of Acadia, to advance his own private fortune, engaged in trade absolutely prohibited by his majesty both with the natives of the country and with the people of New England.

Frontenac and Champigny at this time filled the offices respectively of governor and intendant (or lieutenant governor) of New France, and the king in his message to them refers to matters on the River St. John in the following terms :

“ His Majesty finds it necessary to speak on the subject of the grants obtained by the Sieurs d'Amours, which comprehend an immense tract of land along the River St. John. It is commonly reported that since they

have lived there they have not engaged in clearing and cultivating their land, that they have no cattle nor any other employment than that of a miserable traffic exclusively with the savages. His Majesty has been informed that the lands in those parts are the best in the world, watered by large rivers and in a situation more temperate and pleasant than other parts of Canada, the Sieurs d'Amours, therefore must be compelled to establish themselves upon a better footing and those people who are to receive grants of land are directed to this part of Acadia where, as his Majesty is informed, the Sieurs d'Amours pretend to have exclusive possession of about thirty leagues of country.

That the sentiments of this royal message were inspired by Villebon is evident from the tenor of his letters to the French minister at this time. In one of these he says of the brothers d'Amours: "They are four in number living on the St. John river. They are given up to lawlessness and independence for the ten or twelve years they had been here. They are disobedient and seditious and require to be watched." In another communication he scornfully terms them "the pretended gentry" (*soi disant gentilhommes*). Writing to the minister the next year he observes: "I have no more reason, my lord, to be satisfied with the Sieurs d'Amours than I previously had. The one who has come from France has not pleased me more than the other two. Their minds are wholly spoiled by long licentiousness and the manners they have acquired among the Indians, and they must be watched closely as I had the honor to state to you last year."

Fortunately for the reputation of the brothers d'Amours we have evidence that places them in a more

favorable light than does the testimony of Villebon. M. de Champigny, the intendant at Quebec, wrote to the French minister. "The sons of the Sieur d'Amours, member of the supreme council at Quebec, who are settled on the River St. John, apply themselves chiefly to cultivating their lands and raising cattle. I sent you my lord, the census of their domain, which has been made by Father Simon, the Recollet, who is missionary on the same river, in which you may have every confidence, he being a very honest man. It is very unfortunate, my lord, that any one should have informed you that they lead a licentious life with the savages for I have reliable testimony that their conduct is very good. It seems as if all who live in those parts are in a state of discord; the inhabitants make great complaints against the Sieurs de Villebon and des Goutins. Some who have come to Quebec say they are so constantly harrassed and oppressed that if things are not put upon a better footing they will be compelled to abandon the country."

That the inhabitants living on the river were turning their attention to agriculture is shown by Villieu's letter to Frontenac in 1696, in which he says: "I informed you last year, Monsieur, by the memorandum I had the honor to send you, that the inhabitants living on the river had begun to cultivate their lands. I have since learned that they have raised some grain. Mon. de Chouffours, who had sown very considerably last year, has not reaped anything, the worms having eaten the seed in the ground; Mon. de Freneuse, his brother, has harvested about 15 hogsheads of wheat; Mon. de Clignancourt very little; Mon. Bellefontaine about 5 hogsheads; the Sieur Martel very little, for he has only begun to cultivate his land during the last two years.

The other inhabitants have raised only a little Indian corn. The Sieurs d'Amours, except the Sieur Clignancourt, have sown this year a good deal of wheat and the Sieur Bellefontaine also ; the Sieur Martel some rye and wheat and much peas. The other inhabitants have planted some Indian corn, which would have turned out well only that they have sown too late their ground having been inundated."

The narrative of John Gyles, at this time a captive in the family of the Sieur de Chauffour, who had ransomed him from the Indians and treated him very kindly, contains the following curious incident, which shows that under the protection of Fort Nachouac the people of the River St. John had taken up farming and were raising excellent crops :

"The gentleman with whom I lived," writes Gyles, 'had a fine field of wheat, in which great numbers of black-birds continually collected and made great havoc. The French told me that a Jesuit would come and banish them. He did at length come, and having all things prepared he took a basin of holy water, a staff with a little brush, and having on his white robe went into the field of wheat. With about thirty following in the procession the Jesuit marched through the field of wheat. A young lad, going before him, bearing the holy water sprinkled the field on each side of him, a little bell jingling at the same time and all singing the words *ora pro nobis*. At the end of the field they wheeled to the left about and returned. Thus they passed and repassed the field of wheat, the black-birds all the while rising before them only to light behind them. At their return I told a French lad that the friar had done no good and recommended them to shoot the

birds. The lad left me as I thought to see what the Jesuit would say to my observation, which turned out to be the case, for he told the lad that the sins of the people were so great that he could not prevail against those birds. The same friar vainly tried to banish the mosquitoes from Chignecto."

The wheat field mentioned above was at the Jemseg, but the Sieur de Chauffours had land under cultivation elsewhere for the census of 1695 informs us that "the land at Naxouat, of which the Sieur de Chauffours is seignior, is where the fort commanded by Mon. de Villebon is established. The Sieur de Chauffours has a house there and thirty acres of land under cultivation."

As the brothers Louis and Mathieu d'Amours may be considered to have been the first farmers on the St. John River we shall venture to give, from the census made in 1695, the modest figures that show the quantity of land they had under tillage, the number of their domestic animals and their crops for the past season.

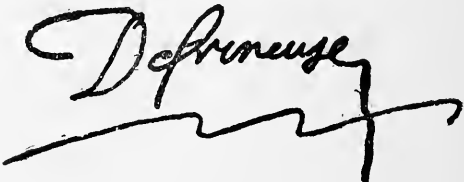
The Sieur de Chauffours had at the Jemseg 65 acres under cultivation, a house, barn and stable, 22 horned cattle, 50 hogs, 150 fowls. It is stated that his stock of animals was smaller than usual by reason of the supplies he had furnished to the French privateers. His crop of the last season (1694) included 80 bushels of wheat, 100 of peas, 30 of Indian corn, and 18 of oats.

The Sieur de Freneuse had 30 acres of ploughed land and 40 acres of marsh, a house, barn and stable, 10 horned cattle, 40 hogs, 86 fowls. He had raised in the last season, 50 bushels of wheat, 40 of peas, 120 of Indian corn, and 12 of oats.

On the lands owned by the two brothers six tenants were settled. Some of the English prisoners of war

were placed with the farmers by Villebon to assist them in their operations and to economize the garrison supplies.

The dwelling house of the Sieur de Freneuse was so situated that he was much inconvenienced by the annual freshet. He seems to have had serious thoughts of abandoning the river altogether, for we find that on the 6th August, 1696, he had drawn up a lease to one Michael Chartier, of Schoodic in Acadia, of his property, consisting of thirty acres under the plough; meadow, forest and undergrowth, with houses, barns and stables thereon; a cart and plough rigged ready for work; also all the oxen, cows, bullocks, goats, pigs, poultry, furniture and household utensils left over from the sale which he proposed to make. Chartier was to enjoy the right of trade with the Indians through the whole extent of the manor, except where the lands had been granted by the Sieur de Freneuse to private individuals. The lease to be for a term of five years beginning with the first day of May following, and the lessee to pay the Sieur de Freneuse 600 livres annually, half in money and half in small furs, such as beaver, otter and martins. It is not likely that this transaction was ever consummated, for less than three months after the lease had been arranged, and six months before Chartier was to enter into possession, all the buildings of the Sieur de Freneuse were burned, his cattle destroyed and his fields laid waste by Hawthorne's soldiers returning from their unsuccessful siege of Fort Nachouac. The original lease, a very interesting document, is now in possession of Dr. W. F. Ganong and

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'D. Freneuse', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

a fac-simile of the signature of this *Sieur de Freneuse* is here given.

His seigniori included both sides of the St. John River in Sunbury County, the most fertile portions of the parishes of Mauderville, Sheffield, Burton and Lincoln. The name *Freneuse* is applied to this region in most of the maps down to the time of the American Revolution.

The *Sieur de Freneuse*, as already mentioned, died in consequence of fatigue and exposure at the siege of Fort Nachouac. Sixty years later the lands he had cleared and tilled passed into the hands of the first English settlers on the river, the Mauderville colony of 1763. His widow continued to reside on the river for a time and her name appears in the census of 1698 as "Damoiselle Louise Guyon d'Amours, widow of *Freneuse*." A little later she went to Port Royal with her five sons, the oldest about 12 years of age. During the next ten years she had a most extraordinary career and for a time there was hardly a letter sent from Acadia by those in authority which did not contain some reference to her. Her intrigue with Bonaventure, who was in command of the King's ships on the coast of Acadia, kept the Port Royal settlement in a continual ferment, for the lady had partizans and defenders as well as unrelenting enemies.

René d'Amours, *Sieur de Clignancourt*, during his residence on the St. John did little or nothing to improve his immense seigniori but was engrossed in trade with the Indians. He made periodical visits to their villages and was well known at Medoctec, where he went to purchase furs and skins after the Indians returned from their winter hunts. His visits were of

doubtful advantage to the poor savages, for we learn from Gyles' narrative that "when they came in from hunting they would be drunk and fight for several days and nights together, till they had spent most of their skins in wine and brandy, which was brought to the village by a Frenchman called Monsieur Sigenioncor" (Clignancourt).

After the expiration of eleven years from the date of his grant, René d'Amours had done so little towards the improvement of his seigniory that even the indulgent council, of which his father was a member, must have considered it quite insufficient to warrant his retaining possession of nearly one million acres of the best land on the River St. John. He made some little attempt at cultivation near his residence below the mouth of the Keswick stream, where, according to the census of 1695 he had cleared 15 acres, and had raised 80 bushels of corn, 16 of peas and 3 of beans. He had also a few cattle, hogs and fowls.

Among the contemporaries of the brothers d'Amours living on the River were Gabriel Bellefontaine, Jean Martel, Pierre Godin, Charles Charet, Antoine Du Vigneaux and François Moyse.

The narrative of John Gyles throws a good deal of light on the course of events on the St. John during Villebon's regime, and supplies a particularly interesting glimpse of domestic life in the home on the banks of the Jemseg, where Gyles spent the happiest years of his captivity. It was in the summer of the year 1695 that Gyles was purchased of the Indians by Louis d'Amours, having been nearly six years in captivity at the Medoctec village. The strong prejudices against the French instilled into his mind by his mother, who was a devout

puritan, were soon overcome by the kindness of Marguerite d'Amours, the wife of the Sieur de Chauffours. She certainly appears in a very amiable light. The story shall be told in Gyles' own words.

"When about six years of my doleful captivity had passed, my second Indian master died, whose squaw and my first Indian master disputed whose slave I should be. Some malicious persons advised them to end the quarrel by putting a period to my life; but honest Father Simon, the priest of the river, told them that it would be a heinous crime and advised them to sell me to the French."

The suggestion of Father Simon was adopted and Gyles, now in his sixteenth year, went with the missionary and the Indians to the mouth of the river, the occasion of their journey being the arrival of a French man-of-war at Menagoeche with supplies for the garrison and presents for the Indians.

"My master asked me," continued Gyles, "whether I chose to be sold aboard the man-of-war or to the inhabitants? I replied, with tears, I should be glad if you would sell me to the English from whom you took me, but if I must be sold to the French, I chose to be sold to the lowest on the river, or nearest inhabitant to the sea, about 25 leagues from the mouth of the river, for I thought that if I were sold to the gentlemen aboard the man-of-war I should never return to the English. \* \*

"A few days after all the Indians went up the river. When we came to a house which I had spoken to my master about, he went on shore with me and tarried all night. The master of the house (Louis d'Amours) spoke kindly to me in Indian, for I could not then speak one word of French. Madam also looked pleasant on me and

gave me some bread. The next day I was sent six leagues further up the river to another French house. My master and the friar tarried with Monsieur De Chauffours, the gentleman who had entertained us the the night before. Not long after father Simon came and said, 'Now you are one of us, for you are sold to that gentleman by whom you were entertained the other night.'

"I replied, 'Sold! — to a Frenchman!' I could say no more, but went into the woods alone and wept till I could scarce see or stand. The word 'sold,' and that to a people of that persuasion which my dear mother so much detested and in her last words manifested so great fears of my falling into; the thought almost broke my heart.

"When I had thus given vent to my grief I wiped my eyes, endeavoring to conceal its effects, but father Simon perceiving my eyes swollen, called me aside bidding me not to grieve, for the gentleman he said to whom I was sold was of a good humor; that he had formerly bought two captives of the Indians who both went home to Boston. This in some measure revived me; but he added he did not suppose that I would ever incline to go to the English for the French way of worship was much to be preferred. He said also he would pass that way in about ten days, and if I did not like to live with the French better than the Indians he would buy me again.

"On the day following, father Simon and my Indian master went up the river six and thirty leagues to their chief village and I went down the river six leagues with two Frenchmen to my new master. He kindly received me, and in a few days Madam made me an osnaburg shirt and French cap and a coat out of one of my master's old

coats. Then I threw away my greasy blanket and Indian flap; and I never more saw the old friar, the Indian village or my Indian master till about fourteen years after when I saw my old Indian master at Port Royal, and again about twenty-four years since he came from St. John to Fort George to see me where I made him very welcome.

Marguerite Guyon d'Amours in her lonely situation and rude surroundings, face to face with the perils of the wilderness and brought into daily contact with the savages whose frightful atrocities must have chilled her soul, although they were perpetrated against the enemies of her people, is as truly a heroine as the Lady la Tour. Her goodness of heart is seen in her motherly kindness to Gyles, the young stranger of an alien race — "the little English," as she calls him. But with all her amiability and gentleness she possessed other and stronger qualities, and it was her woman's wit and readiness of resource that saved her husband's fortunes in a grave emergency. The story shall be told in Gyles' own words.

"My French master had a great trade with the Indians which suited me very well, I being thorough in the language of the tribes at Cape Sable and St. John. I had not lived long with this gentleman before he committed to me the keys of his store, etc., and my whole employment was trading and hunting in which I acted faithfully for my master and never knowingly, wronged him to the value of one farthing. They spoke to me so much in Indian that it was some time before I was perfect in the French tongue."

Louis d'Amours was absent from home when, in the month of October, 1696, the quietude of his household at the Jemseg was disturbed by the approach of

the Massachusetts military expedition under Colonel Hawthorn and Major Benjamin Church.

"We heard of them," says Gyles, some time before they came up the river by the guard that Governor Villebon had ordered at the river's mouth. Monsieur, the gentleman whom I lived with, was gone to France, and Madam advised with me; she then desired me to nail a paper on the door of our house containing as follows:

"I intreat the General of the English not to burn my House or Barn, nor destroy my cattle. I don't suppose that such an army comes up this River to destroy a few Inhabitants but for the Fort above us. I have shewn kindness to the English captives as we were capacitated and have bought two Captives of the Indians and sent them to Boston, and have one now with us and he shall go also when a convenient opportunity presents and he desires it.'

"This done, Madam said to me, 'Little English, we have shewn you kindness and now it lies in your power to serve or disserve us, as you know where our goods are hid in the woods and that Monsieur is not at home. I could have sent you to the Fort and put you under confinement, but my respect for you and assurance of your love to us have disposed me to confide in you, persuaded that you will not run away to the English, who are coming up the river, but serve our interest. I will acquaint Monsieur of it at his return from France which will be very pleasing to him; and I now give my word that you shall have liberty to go to Boston on the first opportunity, if you desire it, or that any other favor in my power shall not be deny'd you.'

"I replied : — 'Madam, it is contrary to the nature of the English to requite evil for good. I shall endeavor to serve you and your interest. I shall not run to the English ; but if I am taken by them shall willingly go with them and yet endeavor not to disserve you either in your persons or goods.'

"This said we embarked and went in a large boat and canoe two or three miles up an eastern branch of the river that comes from a large pond ( Grand Lake ) and in the evening sent down four hands to make discovery ; and while they were sitting in the house the English surrounded it and took one of the four ; the other three made their escape in the dark through the English soldiers and came to us and gave a startling account of affairs.

"Again Madam said to me, 'Little English, now you can go from us, but I hope you will remember your word !' I said, 'Madam, be not concerned, for I will not leave you in this strait.' She said 'I know not what to do with my two poor little Babes.' I said 'Madam, the sooner we embark and go over the great Pond the better.' Accordingly we embarked and went over the Pond.

"The next day we spake with Indians, who were in a canoe and gave us an account that Chignecto-town was taken and burnt. Soon after we heard the great guns at Governor Villebon's fort, which the English engaged several days, killed one man, and drew off and went down the river ; for it was so late in the fall that had they tarried a few days longer in the river, they would have been frozen in for the winter.

"Hearing no report of the great guns for several days, I, with two others, went down to our house to make

discovery, where we found our young lad who was taken by the English when they went up the river ; for the general was so honorable that, on reading the note on our door, he ordered that the house and barn should not be burnt nor the cattle or other creatures killed, except one or two and the poultry for their use, and at their return ordered the young lad to be put ashore.

“ Finding things in this state, we returned and gave Madam an account. She acknowledged the many favors which the English had shown, with gratitude, and treated me with great civility. The next spring Monsieur arrived from France in the man-of-war, who thanked me for my care of his affairs, and said that he would endeavor to fulfil what Madam had promised me.”

At the expiration of another year, peace having been proclaimed, a sloop came to Menagoeche with ransom for one Michael Coombs, and Gyles reminded the Sieur de Chauffours of his promise. That gentleman urged him to stay, offering to do for him as if he were his own child, but Gyles' heart was set upon going to Boston, hoping to find some of his relations. His master then advised him to go up to the fort and take leave of the Governor, which he did, and says that the Sieur de Villebon spoke very kindly to him. Some days after he bid an affectionate adieu to Madame d'Amours, and his master accompanied him to the mouth of the river to see him on board. He arrived safely in Boston and was welcomed by his relatives as one risen from the dead. We shall read in another chapter of his experience while in captivity with the Indians at Medoctec.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Gyles". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the main text block.

About this time the headquarters of the governor of Acadia were transferred from Nachouac to the reconstructed fort at the mouth of the river. Villebon's residence there, however, was only of about two year's duration. He died on the 5th July, 1700, and was buried near the fort. The life of this devoted son of New France went out with the century and after his death the seat of government of Acadia was transferred to Port Royal.

Brouillan succeeded to the command. He found the fort at St. John in good order, as was to be expected, it having been so lately rebuilt, but in the opinion of the new governor it was of little use for the glory of the King or for the defence of the country. He condemned the situation as being commanded on one side by an island at the distance of a pistol shot, and on the other by a height at the distance of only a hundred and odd fathoms (toises), and having a very insufficient water supply. He therefore caused the fortifications to be razed, demolished the houses, and carried away the guns and everything else of a portable character to Port Royal.

With the removal of the military establishment the settlers on the St. John were left defenceless, and as the war between England and France was renewed in the spring of 1702 the unfortunate people were forced to abandon their properties and remove to Quebec or Port Royal. Most of the abandoned dwellings had been built upon the low lying meadows, or intervalles, on the east side of the river from Nachouac to the Jemseg. The soil was very fertile, free from rock or stone, and little encumbered by forest, but the situation had its disadvantages, as it still has. The settlers had a most unhappy experience in the year 1701 in consequence of

an extraordinarily high freshet. This event increased Brouillan's aversion to the St. John. He says: "The river is altogether impracticable for habitations, the little the people had there being destroyed this year by the inundations which have carried off houses, cattle and grain. There is no probability that any families will desire to expose themselves hereafter to a thing so vexatious and so common on that river. Monsieur De Chauffours, who used to be the mainstay of the inhabitants and the savages, has been forced to abandon the place and to withdraw to Port Royal, but he has no way of making a living there for his family, and he will unhappily be forced to seek some other retreat if the government pays no consideration to the services which he represents in his petition, and does not grant him some position in order to retain him in this colony."

The valley of the River St. John was now left as deserted and desolate as it had been previous to the arrival of Champlain. The Indian might wander at will among the ruins of forts and dwellings abandoned to his care, or left to be converted into hiding places for the wild beasts, and wonder at the folly of the white man who had forsaken the finest river in all Acadia with its wealth of forest and stream and its fertile lands awaiting the hands of industry and thrift.

England and France were again at war and in the course of the conflict the fortunes of the d'Amours were involved in utter ruin. The gentle spirit of Marguerite Guyon d'Amours did not survive the struggle, and with the close of the century she passed from the scene of her trials. Louis d'Amours, while serving his country in arms, was taken by the English, and for more than two years remained a prisoner in Boston. When he was

liberated under the terms of an exchange, he returned somewhat broken in health to Port Royal. Meanwhile Madame Freneuse had taken charge of his children and was providing for them. She was sent in the autumn of 1704 to the River St. John by Governor Brouillan, but soon returned saying that it was impossible to live there because the place was deserted. She returned to Port Royal and was again the storm-centre of public opinion, until she was sent to Quebec by direction of the French minister in 1708. Her remarkable qualities led to her being employed by the French government in 1711 in connection with an attempt to recapture Port Royal by the Acadians and Indians. Major Paul Mascarene, who was an officer of the Annapolis garrison at this time, writes in his narrative of events ; " A certain woman, by name Madam Freneuse, came from the other side of the Bay of Fundy in a birch canoe, with only an Indian and a young lad, her son, in the coldest part of winter." Mascarene goes on to express his opinion that the woman was sent to keep the Acadians in a ferment and restrain them from furnishing provision for the garrison and to act the part of a spy and he added that " in all this indeed she was but too lucky, though she came with quite another story." René d'Amours, Sieur de Clignancourt, served in various expeditions against the New Englanders and for several years is heard of in connection with military affairs. Eventually most of the d'Amours family removed from Acadia leaving behind them no abiding record of their sojourn on the River St. John.

Two of the daughters of Louis d'Amours were married at Port Royal while very young. Perhaps they possessed their mother's winsome manners, perhaps, also, the

scarcity of marriageable girls in Acadia may have had something to do with the matter, at any rate Charlotte d'Amours was but seventeen when she married the young baron, Anselm de St. Castin. Their wedding took place at Port Royal in October, 1707, two months after young St. Castin had greatly distinguished himself in the heroic and successful defense of Port Royal against an expedition from New England. Among the witnesses of the marriage were the Chevalier de Subercase, governor of Acadia; Bonaventure, who had rendered signal service as commander of the "Envieux" and the bride's father, Louis d'Amours — who signs his name D'Amour D'Echoufour.

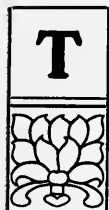
Marie d'Amours, sister of the young Baroness de St. Castin, married Pierre de Mompain, a famous naval captain, about two years later. De Mompain shortly before his marriage captured nine prizes in a ten day's cruise off the coast of New England and destroyed four other vessels. Being attacked by a coast-guard ship of Boston a furious engagement ensued, in which the English captain was killed with nearly one hundred of his men and his vessel made a prize and taken to Port Royal.

Louis d'Amours was buried in the cemetery of St. Jean Baptiste at Port Royal on the 19th of May, 1708. He did not therefore live to witness the downfall of French power in Acadia when Subercase was compelled to surrender his fort to Colonel Nicholson the following year.



## CHAPTER IX.

Site of Fort Medoctec — Gyles' Narrative of Maliseet's Dread of Mohawk Invasion — Hardships of the Indians During the Winter Season — Missionary Work at Medoctec — English and French struggle for Supremacy in Acadia — Captain Pote's Journal on the State of Affairs on the River St. John.

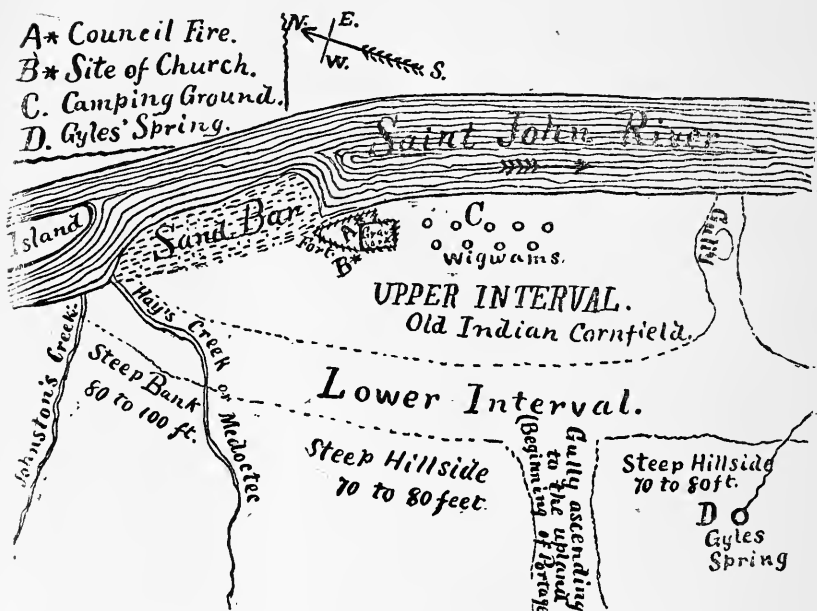


TWELVE miles below the town of Woodstock there enters the River St. John, from the westward, a good sized tributary known as Eel River. It is a variable stream, flowing in the upper reaches with feeble current, over sandy shallows, with here and there deep pools, and at certain seasons almost lake-like expansions over adjoining swamps, but in the last twelve miles of its course it is transformed into a turbulent stream, broken by rapids and falls to such an extent that only at the freshet season is it possible to descend in canoes. The Indian name of Eel River is "Madawamkeetook," signifying "rocky at its mouth."

The Medoctec Fort stood on the west bank of the St. John four miles above the mouth of Eel River. It guarded the eastern extremity of the famous portage, five miles in length, by which canoes were carried in order to avoid the rapids that obstruct the lower part of Eel River. The rivers were nature's highway for the aboriginal inhabitants and a glance at the map will show that Madawamkeetook, or Eel River, formed a very important link in the chain of communication with

the western part of ancient Acadia by means of the inland waters.

In early days the three principal villages of the Maliseets were Medoctec on the St. John, Panagamsdé on the Penobscot, and Narantsouak on the Kennebec. In travelling from Medoctec to the westward the Indians



PLAN OF FORT MEDOCTEC.

passed from the lakes at the head of Eel River, by a short portage, to the chain of lakes at the head of the St. Croix from which by another short portage they passed to the Mattawamkeag, an eastern branch of the Penobscot. In the course of the stirring events of the war-period in Acadia the Indian braves and their

French allies made constant use of this route, and the Medoctec village became a natural rendezvous whenever anything of a warlike nature was afoot on the St. John. But Medoctec possessed many local advantages; the hunting in the vicinity was excellent, the rivers abounded in salmon, sturgeon, bass, trout and other fish, and the intervals were admirably adapted to the growth of Indian corn, which seems to have been raised there from time immemorial.

The reader by examining the accompanying plan will have a better idea of the old fort and its surroundings.

The site of this ancient Maliseet town was on a fine plateau extending back from the river about fifty rods, then descending to a lower interval, twenty rods wide, and again rising quite abruptly sixty or seventy feet to the upland. The spring freshet usually covers the lower interval and the elevated plateau then becomes an island. The spot is an exceedingly interesting one, but, unfortunately for the investigator, the soil has been so well cultivated by the hands of thrifty farmers that little remains to indicate the outlines of the old fortifications. It is impossible to determine with absolute certainty the position of the stockade, or of the large wigwam, or council chamber, and other features commonly found in Indian towns of that period. The only place where the old breast-work is visible is along the south and east sides of the burial ground, where it is about two feet high. The burial ground has never been disturbed with the plough, the owners of the property having shown a proper regard for the spot as the resting place of the dead. It is, however, so thickly overgrown with hawthorn as to be a perfect jungle difficult to penetrate. Many holes have been dug there by relic hunters and seekers of buried treasure.

At the spot marked A on the plan, between the grave-yard and the river, there is a mass of ashes and cinders with numberless bones scattered about. This is believed to be the site of the old council fire. Here the visitor will find himself in touch with the events of savage life of centuries ago. Here it was that Governor Villebon harangued his dusky allies; here too the horrible dog feast was held and the hatchet brandished by the warriors on the eve of their departure to deluge with blood the homes of New England; here at the stake the luckless captive yielded up his life and chanted his death-song; here the *Sieur de Clignacourt* bargained with the Indians, receiving their furs and peltry and giving in exchange French goods and trinkets, rum and brandy; here good Father Simon taught the savages the elements of the Christian faith and tamed as best he could the fierceness of their manners; here when weary of fighting the hatchet was buried and the council fire glowed its brightest as the chiefs smoked their calumet of peace.

Some have supposed the old Medoctec fort to have been an elaborate structure, with bastions, etc., but it was more probably only a rude Indian fortification with ditch and parapet surmounted by a stockade, within which was a strongly built cabin, in size about thirty by forty feet. Parkman in his "*Jesuits in North America*," gives a good description of similar forts built by the Hurons and other tribes of Canada. The labor involved in the erection of the palisade must have been great, and nothing but stern necessity is likely to have driven so naturally improvident a people to undertake it. The stout stakes were cut, pointed and firmly planted with no better implement than the stone axe of prehistoric times.

The fort was in all probability constructed by the Maliseets for their protection in case of a Mohawk invasion. The unreasonable terror inspired in the mind of a St. John River Indian at the very mention of the word Mohawk is curiously shown in the following ridiculous incident related by John Gyles in his narrative: "One very hot season a great number of Indians gathered at the village (of Medoctec), and being a very droughty people they kept James Alexander and myself night and day fetching water from a cold spring that ran out of a rocky hill about three quarters of a mile from the fort. In going thither we crossed a large intervale cornfield and then a descent to a lower intervale before we ascended the hill to the spring. James being almost dead as well as I with this continual fatigue contrived a plan to fright the Indians. He told me of it but conjured me to secrecy. The next dark night James going for water set his kettle on the descent to the lowest intervale, and ran back to the fort puffing and blowing as in the utmost surprise, and told his master that he saw something near the spring which looked like Mohawks (which he said were only stumps — aside). His master, being a most courageous warrior, went with James to make discovery, and when they came to the brow of the hill, James pointed to the stumps, and withal touched his kettle with his toe, which gave it motion down hill, and at every turn of the kettle the bail clattered, upon which James and his master could see a Mohawk in every stump in motion and turned tail to and he was the best man who could run the fastest. This alarmed all the Indians in the village, and they packed off bag and baggage, some up the river and others down, and did not return under

fifteen days, when the heat of the weather being finally over our hard service abated for this season. I never heard that the Indians understood the occasion of the fright, but James and I had many a private laugh about it."

Another incident may here be mentioned as showing the dread inspired by the Mohawks. About the year 1787 Rev. Frederick Dibblee was appointed a missionary teacher to the Indians at Meductic and a few years afterwards the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent him "a quantity of Indian prayer books by the late excellent Col. Claus." Unfortunately the prayer books were in Mohawk and Mr. Dibblee could make no use of them. He wrote the society "That the Indians of the River St. John have the utmost dread and hatred for the Mohawks, by whom formerly they were almost extirpated and whose language they are more ignorant of than the English tongue. He could not persuade two or three of his scholars to take any of them, they being fearful that it would bring on a quarrel with the Mohawks upon finding their books in their possession. He therefore gave them to the poor of the parish."

The spring referred to by John Gyles as the scene of the ludicrous Mohawk scare will be found in the right hand lower corner of the plan. The distance of the spring from the old fort is about half a mile, and the situation and surroundings correspond so exactly with Gyles' description that there is not the slightest doubt as to its identity. The water that flows from it never fails and is very clear and cool.

At the back of the lower intervale there is a curious gully, something like a broad natural roadway, which

affords an easy ascent to the upland. This no doubt was the commencement of the famous portage by which bands of savages in ancient days took their way westward to devastate the settlements of New England.

The small stream which enters the St. John a little above the old village site, now known as Hay's Creek, in early maps and land grants is called "Meductic river." About a mile from its mouth there is a very beautiful cascade; the volume of water is not large but the height of the fall, 95 feet perpendicular, is remarkable, surpassing by at least ten feet the Grand Falls of the River St. John.

Our knowledge of Medoctec, and the manners of its people two centuries ago, is gleaned from the narrative of John Gyles, the English lad who was captured at Pemaquid in 1689 and brought by his Indian master to the River St. John. At the time of his capture Gyles was a boy of about twelve years of age. He seems to have received kindly treatment from his master though not from all the Indians. His first rude experience was at Penobscot, where upon the arrival of the captives, some fifty in number, the squaws got together in a circle dancing and yelling, as was their custom on such occasions. Gyles says, "An old grimace squaw took me by the hand and leading me into the ring, some seized me by my hair and others by my feet, like so many furies; but, my master laying down a pledge, they released me. A captive among the Indians is exposed to all manner of abuses and to the extremest tortures, unless their master, or some of their master's relatives lay down a ransom, such as a bag of corn, a blanket, or the like, which redeems them from their cruelty for that dance."

After a long and wearisome journey the little captive at length neared his destination, the canoes were paddling down the Madawamkeetook (or Eel) river. When they reached the rapids they landed, and went over a long carrying place to Medoctec Fort on the bank of the St. John river. Gyles gives the following account of the welcome extended to him on his arrival :

“After some miles travel we came in sight of a large cornfield and soon after of the fort, to my great surprise, for two or three squaws met us, took off my pack, and led me to a large hut or wigwam, where thirty or forty Indians were dancing and yelling round five or six poor captives. I was whirled in among them and we looked at each other with a sorrowful countenance ; and presently one of them was seized by each hand and foot by four Indians, who swung him up and let his back with force fall on the hard ground, till they had danced (as they call it) round the whole wigwam, which was thirty or forty feet in length.

“The Indians looked on me with a fierce countenance, as much as to say it will be your turn next. They champed cornstalks, which they threw into my hat as I held it in my hand. I smiled on them though my heart ached. I looked on one and another, but could not perceive that any eye pitied me. Presently came a squaw and a little girl and laid down a bag of corn in the ring. The little girl took me by the hand, making signs for me to come out of the circle with them. Not knowing their custom, I supposed they designed to kill me and refused to go. Then a grave Indian came and gave me a pipe and said in English, ‘Smoke it,’ then he took me by the hand and led me out. My heart ached, thinking myself near my end. But he carried

me to a French hut about a mile from the Indian fort. The Frenchman was not at home, but his wife, who was a squaw, had some discourse with my Indian friend, which I did not understand. We tarried there about two hours, then returned to the Indian village, where they gave me some victuals. Not long after I saw one of my fellow-captives who gave me a melancholy account of their sufferings after I left them.

"After some weeks had passed," Gyles continues, "we left this village and went up St. John's river about ten miles to a branch called Medockscenecasis, where there was one wigwam. At our arrival an old squaw saluted me with a yell, taking me by the hair and one hand, but I was so rude as to break her hold and free myself. She gave me a filthy grin, and the Indians set up a laugh and so it passed over. Here we lived on fish, wild grapes, roots, etc., which was hard living for me."

Where the lone wigwam stood in 1689, there is today a town of 4,000 people. The stream which Gyles calls Medockscenecasis is the Meduxnakik and the town is Woodstock. On the islands and intervalles there, wild grapes and lily roots, butter-nuts and cherries are still to be found, and many generations of boys, the writer of this book included have wandered with light hearts in quest of them without a thought of the first of white boys, who in loneliness and friendlessness trod those intervalles more than two hundred years ago.

It seems to have been the custom of the Indians at the beginning of the winter to break up into small parties for the purpose of hunting, and Gyles' description of his first winter's experience will serve to illustrate the hardships endured by the savages.

“When the winter came on,” he says, “we went up the river, till the ice came down running thick in the river, when, according to the Indian custom, we laid up our canoes till spring. Then we traveled, sometimes on the ice and sometimes on land till we came to a river that was open but not fordable, where we made a raft and passed over, bag and baggage. I met with no abuse from them in this winter’s hunting though I was put to great hardships in carrying burdens and for want of food. But they underwent the same difficulty, and would often encourage me by saying in broken English, ‘By and by great deal moose!’ Yet they could not answer any question I asked them; and knowing very little of their customs and ways of life, I thought it tedious to be constantly moving from place to place, yet it might be in some respects an advantage, for it ran still in my mind that we were travelling to some settlement; and when my burden was over heavy. and the Indians left me behind, and the still evening came on, I fancied I could see through the bushes and hear the people of some great town; which hope might be some support to me in the day, though I found not the town at night.

“Thus we were hunting three hundred miles from the sea and knew no man within fifty or sixty miles of us. We were eight or ten in number, and had but two guns on which we wholly depended for food. If any disaster had happened we must all have perished. Sometimes we had no manner of sustenance for three or four days; but God wonderfully provides for all creatures.” We moved still further up the country after the moose so that by the spring we had got to the northward of the Lady Mountains [near the St. Lawrence]. When the spring

came and the rivers broke up we moved back to the head of St. John's river and there made canoes of moose hides, sewing three or four together and pitching the seams with balsam mixed with charcoal. Then we went down the river to a place called Madawescok. There an old man lived and kept a sort of a trading house, where we tarried several days ; then we went further down the river till we came to the greatest falls in these parts, called Checanekepeag ( Grand Falls ) where we carried a little way over land, and putting off our canoes we went down stream still, and as we passed the mouths of any large branches we saw Indians, but when any dance was proposed I was bought off.

“ At length we arrived at the place where we left our canoes in the fall and, putting our baggage into them, went down to the fort. There we planted corn, and after planting went a fishing and to look for and dig roots till the corn was fit to weed. After weeding we took a second tour on foot on the same errand, then returned to hill up our corn. After hilling we went some distance from the fort and field up the river to take salmon and other fish, which we dried for food, where we continued till the corn was filled with milk ; some of it we dried then, the other as it ripened.”

The statement has been made by the author in a previous chapter that exaggerated ideas have prevailed concerning the number of Indians who formerly inhabited this country. The natives of Acadia were not a prolific race and the life they led was so full of danger and exposure, particularly in the winter season, as not to be conducive to longevity. An instance of the dangers to which the Indians were exposed in their winter hunting is related by Gyles which very nearly proved fatal to him.

“One winter,” he says, “as we were moving from place to place our hunters killed some moose. One lying some miles from our wigwams, a young Indian and myself were ordered to fetch part of it. We set out in the morning when the weather was promising, but it proved a very cold cloudy day.

“It was late in the evening before we arrived at the place where the moose lay, so that we had no time to provide materials for a fire or shelter. At the same time came on a storm of snow very thick which continued until the next morning. We made a small fire with what little rubbish we could find around us. The fire with the warmth of our bodies melted the snow upon us as fast as it fell and so our clothes were filled with water. However, early in the morning we took our loads of moose flesh, and set out to return to our wigwams. We had not travelled far before my moose-skin coat (which was the only garment I had on my back, and the hair chiefly worn off) was frozen stiff round my knees, like a hoop, as were my snow-shoes and shoe clouts to my feet. Thus I marched the whole day without fire or food. At first I was in great pain, then my flesh became numb, and at times I felt extremely sick and thought I could not travel one foot farther; but I wonderfully revived again. After long travelling I felt very drowsy, and had thoughts of sitting down, which had I done, without doubt I had fallen on my final sleep. My Indian companion, being better clothed, had left me long before. Again my spirits revived as much as if I had received the richest cordial.

“Some hours after sunset I reached the wigwam, and crawling in with my snow-shoes on, the Indians cried out, ‘The captive is frozen to death!’ They took off my

pack and the place where that lay against my back was the only one that was not frozen. They cut off my snow-shoes and stripped off the clouts from my feet, which were as void of feeling as any frozen flesh could be.

“I had not sat long by the fire before the blood began to circulate and my feet to my ankles turned black and swelled with bloody blisters and were inexpressibly painful. The Indians said one to another: ‘His feet will rot, and he will die;’ yet I slept well at night. Soon after the skin came off my feet from my ankles whole, like a shoe, leaving my toes without a nail and the ends of my great toe bones bare. . . The Indians gave me rags to bind up my feet and advised me to apply fir balsam, but withal added that they believed it was not worth while to use means for I should certainly die. But by the use of my elbows and a stick in each hand I shoved myself along as I sat upon the ground over the snow from one tree to another till I got some balsam. This I burned in a clam shell till it was of a consistence like salve, which I applied to my feet and ankles and, by the divine blessing, within a week I could go about upon my heels with my staff; and through God’s goodness we had provisions enough, so that we did not remove under ten or fifteen days. Then the Indians made two little hoops, something in the form of a snow-shoe, and sewing them to my feet I was able to follow them in their tracks on my heels from place to place, though sometimes half leg deep in snow and water, which gave me the most acute pain imaginable; but I must walk or die. Yet within a year my feet were entirely well, and the nails came on my great toes so that a very critical eye could scarcely

perceive any part missing, or that they had been frozen at all."

After the removal of the French garrison at the mouth of the St. John to Port Royal in 1701 few events of importance transpired on the river for the next twenty-five years. The Maliseets, however, continued to be hostile to the English. War parties from the St. John united with the neighboring tribes, roaming over the country like hungry wolves, prowling around the towns and settlements of New England, carrying terror and destruction wherever they went. The resentment inspired by their deeds was such that the legislatures of Massachusetts and New Hampshire offered a bounty of £40 for the scalp of every adult male Indian. For sixty years these Indian wars followed in rapid succession. They are known in history as King William's war, Queen Anne's war, Lovewell's or Dummer's war and King George's war. In nearly every instance the Indian raids were instigated or encouraged by their French allies, who feared that otherwise the English would win them and thereby gain the country.

Civil and ecclesiastical authority in France were at this time very closely intertwined. The missionaries of New France were appointed and removed by the authorities at Quebec and received an annual stipend from the crown, and however diligent the missionary might be in his calling, or however pure his life, he was liable to be removed unless he used his influence to keep the savages in a continual state of hostility to the English. The Maliseet villages on the St. John, the Penobscot and the Kennebec rivers were regarded as buttresses against English encroachments in the direction of Canada, and the authorities at Quebec relied much

upon the influence of missionaries to keep the savages firm in their allegiance to the King of France.

The first missionary at the Medoctec village, of whom we have any accurate information, was Father Simon, who has already been mentioned in the extracts from Gyles' narrative. He belonged to the order of the Recollets, founded early in the 13th century by St. Francis of Assissi. The missionaries of that order came to Acadia from Aquitane. Father Simon was a man of activity and enterprise as well as of religious zeal. He did all that lay in his power to promote the ascendancy of his country "New France," but his influence with the Indians was always exercised on the side of humanity. On this point Gyles' testimony is conclusive. "The priest of this river was of the order of St. Francis, a gentleman of a humane generous disposition. In his sermons he most severely reprehended the Indians for their barbarities to captives. He would often tell them that excepting their errors in religion the English were a better people than themselves."

Father Simon labored at Medoctec about twelve years and died at his post near the close of the century.

He was succeeded in his mission by one of the Jesuit fathers, Joseph Aubery, who came to Medoctec about 1701, remaining there seven years. He then took charge of the Abenaki mission of St. Francis, where he continued for 46 years and died at the age of 82. Chateaubriand drew from his character and career materials for one of the characters in his well known romance "Atala."

The next missionary on the river was Jean Baptiste Loyard, who was born at Pau in France in 1678, and came to Canada in 1706. He remained almost constantly

at his post, except that in the year 1722 he went to France to obtain aid for his mission. His position was a difficult one, for the letters of the Marquis de Vaudreuil show that in addition to his spiritual functions he was regarded as the political agent of the French on the St. John.

By the treaty of Utrecht, in the days of Queen Ann (A. D. 1718), "all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, comprehended within its ancient boundaries," was ceded to the Queen of Great Britain. But the question immediately arose, what were the ancient boundaries? The British were disposed to claim, as indeed the French had formerly done, that Acadia included the territory north of the Bay of Fundy as far west as the River Kennebec but the French now claimed that it included nothing more than the peninsula of Nova Scotia.

In 1715, Governor Caulfield endeavored to have a good understanding with Loyard, assuring him that he would not be molested, and begging him to tell the Indians of his mission that they would receive good treatment at the hands of the English and that a vessel full of everything they needed would be sent up the river to them.

But other and more potent influences were at work. On June 15, 1716, the French minister wrote the Marquis de Vaudreuil that the King, in order to cement more firmly the alliance with the Indians of Acadia, had granted a considerable sum to be expended in building a church for them on the River St. John. The Indians were wonderfully pleased and offered to furnish a quantity of beaver as a contribution towards the erection of the church. In the years that followed the king made two additional grants of money, and in 1720 the Marquis de Vaudreuil had the satisfaction of reporting that the churches were finished; that they were well



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LOU

SLATESTONE TABLET OF OLD INDIAN CHAPEL

built and would prove a strong inducement to the savages to be loyal to France.

The probable site of the Indian chapel is shown in the plan of the Medoctec Fort and village near the northwest corner of the burial ground where a small stone tablet was discovered by Mr. A. R. Hay, of Lower Woodstock, in June, 1890. The tablet is of black slate, similar to that found in the vicinity, fourteen inches in length by seven in width and about an inch in thickness.

It was found quite near the surface, just as it might naturally have fallen amid the ruins of an old building, covered merely by fallen leaves ; the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation and, without abbreviation, reads as follows :

DEO

*Optimo Maximo*

*In honorem Divi Ioannis Baptistae*

*Hoc Templum posuerunt Anno Domini*

MDCCXVII

MALECITÆ

*Missionis Procurator Ioanne Loyard Societatis Iesu  
Sacerdote.*

The translation reads : " To God, most excellent, most high, in honor of Saint John Baptist, the Maliseets erected this church A. D. 1717, while Jean Loyard, a priest of the Society of Jesus, was superintendent of the mission. "

The inscription is clearly cut, but not with sufficient skill to suggest the hand of a practised stone engraver.

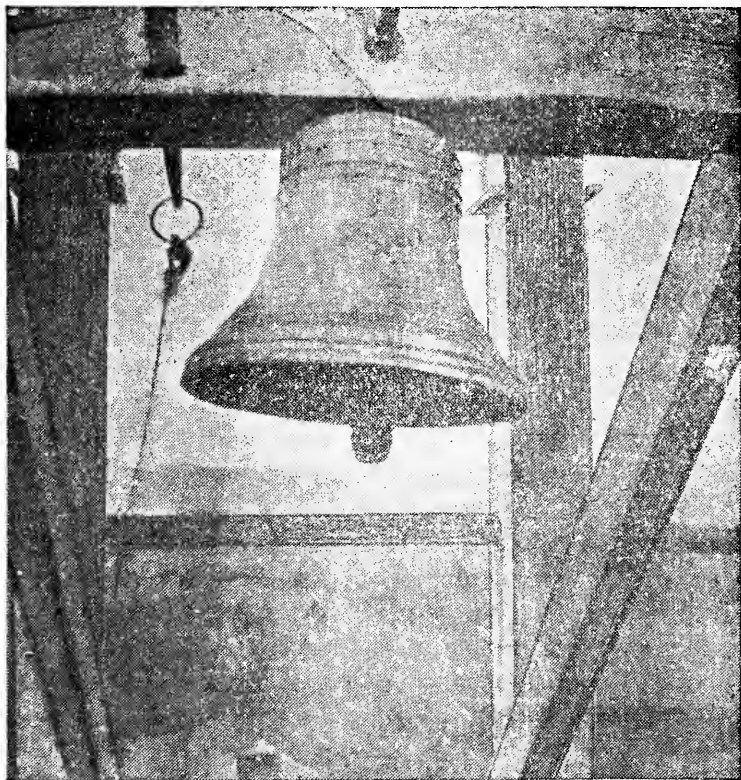
It was in all probability Loyard himself who executed it. The name of Danielou, his successor, faintly scratched in the lower left-hand corner, is evidently of later date ; but its presence is of historic interest.

The Indian church of St. John Baptist at Medoctec, erected in 1717, was the first on the River St. John, probably the first in New Brunswick. It received among other royal gifts a small bell which until a few years ago hung in the belfry of the Indian chapel at Central Kingsclear, a few miles above Fredericton. The church seems to have been such as would impress by its beauty and adornments the rude flock over which Loyard exercised his kindly ministry. It is mentioned by one of the Jesuit fathers as a beautiful church (*belle-église*), appropriately adorned and furnished.

For fifty years the clear toned chapel bell rang out the call to prayer in the depths of the forest ; but by and by priest and people passed away until in 1767, the missionary Bailly records in his register that the Indians having abandoned Medoctec he had caused the ornaments and furnishings of the chapel, together with the bell, to be transported to Aukpaque, and the chapel to be demolished as it served merely as a refuge for travellers and was put to the most profane uses.

Our knowledge of affairs on the River St. John during the first half of the eighteenth century is largely derived from the correspondence of the Jesuit missionaries and the occasional allusions to that locality which are found in the official dispatches of the governor and intendant of New France. Having relinquished to the English the peninsula of Nova Scotia it was the aim of the French to prevent their gaining any foot hold on the north side of the Bay of Fundy. The Marquis de-

Vaudreuil in 1718 wrote to the English governor at Port Royal protesting against English vessels entering the River St. John, which he claimed to be entirely



BELL OF OLD MEDOCTEC CHAPEL (A.D. 1717).

within the French dominion. He encouraged the French to withdraw from the peninsula, promising them lands on the St. John River on application to the missionary Loyard, who was empowered to grant them,

and in the course of time a number of families removed thither.

When Loyard went to France in 1722 he reported that the English were making encroachments on the "rivers of the savages"—meaning the St. John, Penobscot and Kennebec. "Why is this?" he asks, "if not for the purpose of continually advancing on Canada?" He points out that France has not cared for the savages except when she needed them. The English will not fail to remind them of this fact, and will perhaps by presents more valuable than the missionaries can offer soon succeed in winning them. Loyard recommends the court to increase the annual gratuity and to provide a royal medal for each village to serve as a reminder of the King's favor and protection. His advice seems to have been taken, and an annual appropriation of 4,000 livres was made to provide presents for the savages, the distribution being left to the missionaries.

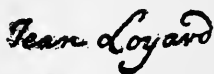
Port Royal, under its new name of Annapolis, was now become the headquarters of British authority and efforts were made to establish friendly relations with the Indians on the St. John river. In July, 1720, nine chiefs were brought over to Annapolis in a vessel sent by Governor Philipps for the purpose; they were entertained and flattered, presents were made to them and they went home apparently well pleased. However the English governor did not count much upon their fidelity. He states that he was beset with Indian delegations from various quarters; that he received them all and never dismissed them without presents, which they always looked for and for which he was out of pocket about a hundred and fifty pounds;

“but I am convinced,” he adds, “that a hundred thousand will not buy them from the French interest while the priests are among them.”

Governor Philipps’ lack of confidence in Indian promises of friendship and allegiance was soon justified, for in Lovewell’s war, which broke out in 1722, the Indians surprised and captured a large number of trading vessels in the Bay of Fundy and along the coast, and a party of 30 Maliseets and 26 Micmacs attacked the fort at Annapolis, killing two of the garrison and dangerously wounding an officer and three men. In retaliation for the loss of Sergt. McNeal, who was shot and scalped by the Indians, the English shot and scalped an Indian prisoner at the spot where McNeal had fallen, an action which, however great the provocation, is to be lamented as unworthy of a Christian nation.

Lovewell’s war was terminated by a notable treaty made at Boston in 1725, with four eminent sagamores representing the tribes of Kennebec, Penobscot, St. John and Cape Sable; François Xavier appearing on behalf of the Maliseets. The conference lasted over a month, for the Indians were very deliberate in their negotiations and were besides too well satisfied with their entertainment to be in a hurry. The treaty was solemnly ratified at Falmouth in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Nova Scotia, and about forty chiefs. The formal assent of the St. John Indians was given later when three or four sachems, accompanied by twenty-six warriors from Medoctec went to Annapolis Royal to ratify the peace and make submission to the British government. Governor Armstrong made them presents, entertained them several days and sent them away well satisfied.

The ministry of Loyard was now drawing to a close. He seems to have been esteemed and beloved by both French and Indians, and in his death was greatly lamented. He devoted nearly twenty-four of the best years of his life to the conversion of the Indians, and when summoned to Quebec for the benefit of his health, which had become impaired by toil and exposure, he had hardly recovered from the fatigue of the journey when he requested to be allowed to return to his mission. It was while in the active discharge of his duty among the sick that he contracted the disease of which he died. The obituary letter announcing his death to the other Jesuit missionaries contains a glowing eulogy. In his disposition there was nothing of sternness, yet he was equally beloved and revered by his people. To untiring zeal he joined exemplary modesty, never failing charity and an evenness of temper that made him superior to circumstances. Busy as he was he had the art of economising the moments, and he gave to his spiritual exercises all the time allotted. Over his flock he watched incessantly as a good pastor with the consolation of seeing the fruits of his labors. He was fitted for everything and ready for everything, and his superiors could dispose of him as they would. The date of his death suggests some remarkable coincidences. Loyard's name was Jean Baptiste, the church he built was called St. Jean Baptiste, and it stood at the side of the river named in honor of St. Jean Baptiste (because discovered on the 24th of June, 1604, by Champlain); and it was fitting that the missionary who designed it, watched over its construction and was laid to rest under its



Fac-simile, A. D. 1708.

shadow, should pass from the scene of his labors on the very day that honors the memory of St. Jean Baptiste, the 24th day of June in the year 1731.

Loyard's successor was Jean Pierre Danielou, whose presence at Medoctec is indicated by the occurrence of his name on the memorial tablet. Danielou had been but a short time in charge of his mission when he received a sharply worded letter from the governor of Nova Scotia, ordering the Acadians settled on the River St. John to repair to Annapolis Royal and take the oath of allegiance. The governor says that their settling on the river without leave was an act of great presumption. A number of the settlers accordingly presented themselves at Annapolis, where they took the required oaths and agreed to take out grants of their lands from the governor. This little French colony had settled near St. Anne (now Fredericton).

A census made in 1733 gives the number of Acadians on the River St. John as 111, divided into twenty families, and fifteen of these families, numbering eighty-two persons, lived below the village of Aukpaque. Two families lived at Freneuse and three at the mouth of the river. In 1739 Danielou made another census from which we learn that the colony had received an addition in the arrival of the Sieur de Bellisle and his two sons-in-law, the brothers Robicheaux, who settled above the mouth of the Belleisle River. Danielou speaks very hopefully of the Acadian colony in which he says there was neither barron woman nor child deformed in body or weak in mind, neither swearer nor drunkard, neither debauchee nor libertine, neither blind nor lazy, nor beggar, nor sickly, nor trespasser upon his neighbor's rights.

In view of the fact that the Belleisle family lived for a considerable time on the Saint John, where their name is preserved in Belleisle Bay, it will be well to trace their lineage a little further.

Marie la Tour, the oldest daughter of Charles la Tour by his second wife, was born in St. John in 1654, and at the age of twenty married Alexander le Borgne de Belleisle. Their son Alexander married Anastasie, daughter of the Baron de St. Castin by his Indian wife, who was a daughter of the great Sagamore Madockawando, and as a consequence the younger le Borgne de Belleisle had great influence among the Maliseets.

In spite of the supposed hostility of Alexander le Borgne de Belleisle to British rule, he came before Governor Armstrong and his council at Annapolis and took the oath of allegiance. He also presented a petition requesting the restoration of the seignioral rights of his father as one of the la Tour heirs ; this was ordered to be transmitted to the home authorities. For several years the Sieur de Belleisle lived with his family at Annapolis and the governor and council regarded him with favor, but failed to obtain recognition of his seignioral rights. After a time the la Tour heirs got into litigation among themselves, and Agatha la Tour, who had married Ensign Campbell an officer of the garrison, seems to have outwitted the other heirs and to have succeeded in selling the rights of the la Tour family to the English crown for three thousand guineas. This naturally was displeasing to le Borgne de Belleisle. He retired to the St. John river about the year 1736 and settled near the mouth of Belleisle Bay. His older daughters Françoise and Marie, and their husbands, the brothers Robichaux, were settled at his side. Their situation was a delicate one as the

territory north of the Bay of Fundy was now claimed by both England and France. At the time Villebon ruled on the River St. John he concurred with the statement of the French minister that " *les bornes de l'Acadie sont á la Rivière de Quenebequi* " — the bounds of Acadia are at the Kennebec River. Now however, that Acadia had been ceded to Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, the French were unanimous in the opinion that the territory north of the Bay of Fundy was " *part of the continent of Canada.* " In view of all the circumstances the claim was a natural though not a very consistent one. The dispute over the limits of Acadia at times waxed warm : there were protests and counter-protests. The French used their savage allies to repel the advance of any English adventurers, who might be disposed to make settlement on the Saint John, and encouraged the Acadians to go there. The English on their part tried, with but indifferent success it must be admitted, to gain the friendship of the Indians and compel the Acadians to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown.

The Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia at this time was Paul Mascarene—in many respects a very remarkable man. He was born in the south of France in 1684. His father was a Huguenot, who at the revocation of the edict of Nantes was obliged to abandon his native country. Young Mascarene was early thrown upon his own resources. At the age of twelve he made his way to Geneva, where he was educated. Afterwards he went to England, became a British subject and entered the army. He was present at the taking of Port Royal by General Nicholson in 1710, and, after serving with credit in various capacities, was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia in 1740. He eventually rose to the rank of a major general in the English army.

Mascarene preserved his love for his native tongue and was always disposed to deal kindly with the Acadians. Two very interesting letters written by him in French to Madame Françoise Bellisle Robichaux have been preserved. The lady made an appeal to him in 1741 respecting some property in dispute at Annapolis Royal. The Governor in his reply furnishes information and advice and adds, "I think you too reasonable to expect any favor of me in that which concerns my conduct as a judge, but in everything that is not contrary to my duty I shall have real pleasure in testifying the esteem I have for you." The influence of Madame Robicheaux was afterwards to prove very serviceable to her family as we shall shortly see.

After a long interval of peace from the time of the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, war was declared between France and England in 1744. The Indians of the St. John River, who had been fairly quiet for some years, took the warpath with great alacrity. The war that ensued is known as King George's war or the Five Years war. At its commencement the Maliseets played rather a sharp trick upon the English which Paul Mascarene and Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, remembered against them when peace was proclaimed five years later. On that occasion Count de la Galissonnière wrote to Mascarene to inquire if the Maliseets were included in the peace, "in which case," he says, "I entreat you to have the goodness to induce Mr. Shirley to allow them to settle again in their villages, and to leave their missionaries undisturbed as they were before the war." The French governor suggested that a reply might be sent through the missionary by whom he had sent his letter. Both

Mascarene and Shirley replied at some length. They stated that when a renewal of the war with France was daily expected, a deputation of the St. John River Indians came to Annapolis to make an agreement to remain on friendly terms with the English in the event of war with France. They were well received in consequence. But they came in reality as spies, and three weeks afterwards returned with others of their tribe, the missionary le Loutre at their head, surprised and killed as many of the English as they caught outside the fort, destroyed their cattle, burnt their houses and continued their acts of hostility until the arrival of troops from New England to check them. "For this perfidious behaviour," says Shirley, "I caused war to be declared in his majesty's name, against these Indians in November, 1744, and so far as it depends upon me, they shall not be admitted to terms of peace till they have made a proper submission for their treachery."

During King George's war the Maliseet warriors did not, as in former Indian wars, assemble at Medoctec and turn their faces westward to devastate the settlements of New England, the scene of hostilities was transferred eastward to Annapolis Royal, Beausejour and Louisburg.

Immediately after the declaration of war Mascarene set to work to repair the defences of Annapolis Royal. The French inhabitants at first showed every readiness to assist him, but they retired to their habitations when the Indians, to the number of about three hundred fighting men, appeared before the fort. Among the leaders of the savages was young Alexander le Borgne de Bellisle, who himself had Indian blood in his veins,

being the son of Anastasie de St. Castin. The Indians failed in their attack and retired to await the arrival of troops from Louisburg under Du Vivier.

Some weeks later the united forces again advanced on Annapolis but, after a siege lasting from the end of August to about the 25th of September, they were obliged to retire without accomplishing anything. Mascarene conducted the defence with prudence and energy but honestly admits, in his letter to Governor Shirley, that it was largely due to the timely succours sent from Massachusetts and to the Acadians refusing to take up arms that the fort was preserved.

The people of New England cherished no good will toward the savages of Acadia. The horrors of Indian warfare in former years were yet fresh in their memories, and stern measures were resolved upon. Governor Shirley, by the advice of his council, offered premiums for their scalps, £100 for that of an adult male Indian, £50 for that of a woman or child, and for a captive £5 more than for a scalp.

In King George's war the Sieur de Belleisle and his son Alexander took sides with their countrymen. The father evidently cherished a hope that Acadia might revert to France, in which case he expected to obtain recognition of his seignioral rights. Young Alexander le Borgne was, as just stated, a leader of the Indians in the attack on Annapolis which failed on account of the energy and bravery of Mascarene. The following letter of the Lieut.-Governor to Frances Belleisle Robichaux is of interest in this connection :

Annapolis Royal, Oct. 13, 1744.

Madame, — When I learned that your father, in the hope of recovering his seigneurial rights, had sided with

those who came to attack this fort, I confess I was of opinion that the whole family participated in his feelings ; and the more so, as your brother was with the first party of savages who came here last summer. I am agreeably surprised, however, and very glad to see by your letter that you did not share in those sentiments, and that you have remained true to the obligations that bind you to the government of the King of Great Britain, I am unwilling that the esteem which I have entertained for you should be in any manner lessened.

With respect to the protection which you ask for your establishment on the River St. John, it is out of my power to grant it. We cannot protect those who trade with our declared enemies. Therefore you must resolve to remain on our [the English] side during the continuance of the present troubles, and to have no intercourse with the other. Should you come and see us here, you will find me disposed to give you all the assistance that you can reasonably expect.

Be assured that I am, Madam,

Your friend and servant,

P. MASCARENE.

After the failure of the French attack on Annapolis Royal, Shirley planned an expedition against Louisburg, "the Dunkirk of America," a most formidable undertaking, for the French in the course of twenty-five years had expended about six millions and a half dollars in building, arming and adorning that city. The walls were formed of bricks brought from France and on them were mounted two hundred and six pieces of cannon.

The leader of the expedition was William Pepperell, a native of Kittery, Maine, a colonel of militia and a

merchant who employed hundreds of men in lumbering and fishing. His troops comprised a motley collection of New Englanders, fishermen and farmers, sawyers and loggers, many of them taken from his own vessels, mills and forests. Before such men, aided by the English navy under Commodore Warren, to the world's amazement, Louisburg fell. The achievement is, perhaps, the most memorable in our colonial annals, but a description of the siege cannot be here attempted. After the surrender of Louisburg a banquet was prepared by Pepperell for his officers, and Mr Moody of New York, Mrs. Pepperell's uncle, was called upon to ask a blessing at the feast. The old parson was apt to be prolix on public occasions, and his temper being rather irritable, none dared to suggest that brevity would be acceptable. The company were therefore highly gratified at his saying, "Good Lord, we have so many things to thank Thee for, that time will be infinitely too short to do it. We must therefore leave it for the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship upon this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ our Lord. Amen."

The capture of Louisburg greatly relieved the situation at Annapolis and probably saved Acadia to the English. It acted as a damper on the ardor of the St. John River Indians who had taken the warpath under Marin, a French officer from Quebec.

While stirring events were thus transpiring at Louisburg, Mascarene was doing his best to place Annapolis Royal in a proper state of defence and the chief engineer, John Henry Bastide, was busily engaged in strengthening the fort. Early in the summer of 1745, the Sieur Marin appeared before the town with a party of six hundred French and Indians — the latter

including many from the River St. John and some of the Hurons from Canada. They captured two Boston schooners, one of which was named the "Montague." Her captain, William Pote, of Falmouth, was taken to Quebec by the Huron Indians, via the St. John river. He remained in captivity three years. He contrived to keep a journal, describing his capture and subsequent adventures, which was concealed by one of the female prisoners and restored to Captain Pote after he was released. The journal had a remarkable experience; it passed through many hands, was discovered at Geneva in Switzerland about a dozen years ago and has lately been printed.

We learn from its pages that Captain Pote was taken by land to Chignecto at the head of the Bay of Fundy, where the Indians called a council to decide whether it was better to go to the River St. John in the captured schooner or by land, but finally thought it better to go by land. They went up the Petitcodiac river in a small schooner belonging to one of the French "neutrals" until they came to the carrying place between the Petitcodiac and the Canaan rivers, which they crossed and encamped. The following morning the Indians learned that the missionary Germain was shortly to arrive from the St. John River. They made haste to prepare for his reception and at his arrival treated him with the greatest respect. As Captain Pote's journal is very interesting and throws some light on the manners of the Indians and the state of affairs on the Saint John at this period some extracts from its pages will now be given.

"The Priest asked ye Capt. of ye Indians who I was, and when he Understood I was a prisoner, he asked me-

if I could speak French. I told him a Little, and asked him concerning one Jonathan, a soldier that was a passenger on board of our schooner when we was taken, and was then at ye River of Saint Johns. Ye Priest gave me an account of him, and told me to content myself in ye Condition that I was then in, for I was in ye hands of a Christian nation and it might prove very Beneficial both to my body and soul. I was obliged to concur with his sentiments for fear of displeasing my masters. Ye Indians built him a Table against a Large Tree, where he said mass, and sung (*louange au bon Dieu pour leur conversation jusqu'au présent*); after they had concluded their mass, &c., the priest gave them Permission to commence their making Connews and Took his leave of us. This Day we was Employed in making Connews of Elm and ash Bark.

Having made seven canoes, the party proceeded down the Canaan river to Washdemoak Lake, and up the St. John to Aukpaque. On the way several curious incidents occurred; on one occasion they caught some small fish, which Pote attempted to clean, but the Indians snatched them from him and boiled them "slime and blood and all together." "This," said Pote, "put me in mind of ye old Proverb, God sent meat and ye D—I cooks." On another occasion, he says, "we Incamped by ye side of ye River and we had much difficulty to kindle a fire by Reason that it Rained exceeding fast and wet our fire works; we was obliged to turn our connews bottom up and Lay under them; at this time it thundered exceedingly, and ye Indians asked me if there was not people in my Country sometimes distroyed by ye Thunder and Lighting; yes, I told them, I had known several Instances of that

nature, they told me that never any thing happened to ye Indians of harm neither by thunder nor Lightning, and they said it was a Judgment on ye English and French, for Incroaching on their Libertys in America."

On their way up the river Pote and his companions passed several French houses, and at some of them they stopped for provisions, but found the people "so exceeding poor" they could not supply any. When they arrived at Aukpaque, on the evening of the 6th July, they found that the schooner Montague had arrived some days before with the other prisoners.

Pote and his friends met with an unexpectedly warm reception at this Indian village, which we shall allow him to relate in his own quaint fashion ;

"At this place ye Squaws came down to ye Edge of ye River, Dancing and Behaving themselves, in ye most Brutish and Indecent manner and taking us prisoners by ye arms, one Squaw on each Side of a prisoner, they led us up to their Village and placed themselves in a Large Circle Round us. After they had got all prepared for their dance, they made us sit down In a Small Circle, about 18 Inches assunder and began their frolick, Dancing Round us and Striking of us in ye face with English Scalps, yt caused ye Blood to Issue from our mouths and Noses, In a Very Great and plentiful manner, and Tangled their hands in our hair, and knocked our heads together with all their strength and Vehemence, and when they was tired of this Exercise, they would take us by the hair and some by ye Ears, and standing behind us, oblige us to keep our Necks Strong so as to bear their weight hanging by our hair and Ears.

"In this manner, they thumped us in ye Back and Sides, with their knees and feet, and Twitched our hair and Ears to such a Degree, that I am Incapable to express it, and ye others that was Dancing Round if they saw any man falter, and did not hold up his Neck, they Dached ye Scalps In our faces with such Violence, that every man endeavored to bear them hanging by their hair in this manner, rather then to have a Double Punishment; after they had finished their frolick, that lasted about two hours and a half, we was carried to one of their Camps, where we Saw Some of ye Prisoners that Came in ye Montague; at this place we Incamped that Night with hungrey Belleys. "

Unpleasant as was the reception at Aukpaque Pote and his fellow prisoners were fortunate in being allowed to escape with their lives. The previous year Captain John Gorham brought to Annapolis a company of Indian rangers — probably Mohawks — as allies of the English. Mascarene justified the proceeding on the ground that it was necessary to set Indians against Indians, "for tho' our men outdo them in bravery," he says, "yet, being unacquainted with their sculking way of fighting and scorning to fight under cover they expose themselves too much to the enemy's shot." Gorham's Indian rangers killed several of the Maliseets, and Pote learned on the day after his arrival at Aukpaque "That the Indians held a counsell weather they should put us to Death, and ye Saint Johns Indians almost Gained ye point for they Insisted it was but Justice, as they Sd there had been Several of their Tribe, murdered by Capt. John Gorham at anapolis. Our masters being Verrey Desirous to Save us alive, used all ye arguments In their power for that purpose but could not prevail for they Insisted on Satis-

faction ; however our masters prevailed so far with them, as to take Some Considerable quantity of their most Valuable Goods, and Spare our Lives. ”

Evidently the Indians retained the practices of their forefathers with regard to their treatment of captives, for Pote's experience at Aukpaque was just about on a par with that of Gyles at Medoctec more than half a century before. But it is only just to remember that this was a time of war and Indian laws of war permitted not only surprises, stratagems and duplicity, but the destruction and torture of their captives. These practices being in harmony with the ideas and customs inherited from their ancestors did not readily disappear even under the influence of Christianity. And yet it is well to remember that the Indians often spared the lives of their captives and used them kindly, and however much we may condemn their cruelty on certain occasions, we must not forget that that there were other occasions when men of our own race disregarded the laws of humanity.

Captain Pote's unhappy experience at Aukpaque caused him to feel no regret when the Huron Indians took their departure with their captives the next day. They had now come to the beginning of the swift water and their progress became more laborious. As they ascended the river they encountered occasional rapids which caused some delay. At the Meductic rapids they were obliged to land and carry their baggage over clefts of rocks, fallen trees and other obstacles. The Indians told Pote they would shortly arrive at another Indian village and he asked, with some anxiety, if the Indians there would abuse them in the same manner as those at Aukpaque. This question led to an immediate consultation among the Hurons, and, Pote says :

“I observed they looked with a Verrey Serious Countenance on me ; when I Saw a Convenient opportunity I spoke to this affect, Gentlemen You are all Verrey Sensible, of ye Ill Usage we met with at ye other Village, which I have Reason to believe, was Intierly Contrary to any of Your Inclinations or permission, and as you Call your Selves Christians, and men of honor, I hope you’l Use your prisoners accordingly, But I think it is Verrey Contrary to ye Nature of a Christian, to abuse men in ye manner we was at ye other Village, and I am Verrey Sensible there is no Christian Nation that suffers their prisoners to be abused after they have Given them quarters, in ye manner we have been. The Indians Looked verrey Serious, and approved of what I said, and talked amongst themselves in Indian, and my master told me when we arrived to ye Indian Villiage I must mind to keep Clost by him.”

On the second morning after they left Aukpaque, the party drew nigh Medoctec, passing as they proceeded, several small spots where the Indians had made improvements and planted corn. Pote says :

“ We arrived to ye Indian village about Noon : as soon as Squaws, saw us coming in sight of their village, and heard ye Cohoops, which Signified ye Number of Prisoners, all ye Squaws in the Village, prepared themselves with Large Rods of Briars and Nettles &c., and met us at their Landing, Singing and Dancing and Yelling, and making such a hellish Noise that I expected we should meet with a worse Reception at this place than we had at ye other. I was Verrey Carefull to observe my masters Instructions that he had Given me ye Day before, and warned ye Rest to do Likewise.”

The first canoe that landed was that of the captain of the Hurons who had in his canoe but one prisoner, an Indian of Capt. Gorham's Company. This unfortunate fellow was not careful to keep by his master, and in consequence "Ye Squaws Gathered Round him, and Caught him by ye hair, as many as could get hold of him, and halled him down to ye Ground, and pound his head against ye Ground, ye Rest with Rods dancing Round him, and wipted him over ye head and Legs to Such a degree, that I thought they would have killed him In ye Spot, or halled him in ye watter and Drowned him, They was So Eager to have a Stroak at him, each of them, that they halled him Some one way and Some another, Some times Down towards ye watter by ye hair of ye head, as fast as they could Run, then ye other party would have ye Better and Run with him another way, my master spoke to ye other Indians, and told ym to take ye fellow out of their hands, for he believed they would Certainly murther him, In a Verey Short time."

The squaws advanced towards Pote, but his master spoke something to them in Indian in a very harsh manner that caused them to relinquish their purpose. The prisoners and their Indian masters were conducted to the camp of the captain of the village who, at their request, sent to relieve the poor Mohawk from the abuse of the squaws, and he was brought to them more dead than alive.

Pote did not entirely escape the attention of the "sauvageses," witness the following entry in his journal:—

"Thursday ye 11th. This Day we Remained In ye Indian Village called Medocatike, I observed ye Squaws could not by any means Content themselves without

having their Dance ; they Continued Teasing my master to Such a Degree, to have ye Liberty to Dance Round me, that he Consented they might if they would Promise not to abuse me, they Desired none of ye Rest, but me was all they aimed at, for what Reason I cannot Tell. When my masters had Given them Liberty, which was Done in my absence, there Came into ye Camp, two Large Strong Squaws, and as I was Setting by one of my masters, they Caught hold of my arms with all their Strength, and Said Something in Indian, that I supposed was to tell me to Come out of ye Camp, and halld me off my Seat. I Strugled with them and cleared my Self of their hold, and Set down by my master ; they Came upon me again Verely Vigorously, and as I was Striving with them, my master ordered me to to Go, and told me they would not hurt me. At this I was obliged to Surrender and whent with them, they Led me out of ye Camp, Dancing and Singing after their manner, and Carried me to one of their Camps where there was a Company of them Gathered for their frolick, they made me Set down on a Bears Skin in ye Middle of one of their Camps, and Gave me a pipe and Tobacœ, and Danced Round me till the Sweat Trickled Down their faces, Verely plentifully, I seeing one Squaw dancing and foaming at ye mouth and Sweating to Such a degree that I could not forbear Smiling, which one of ye old Squaws Saw, and Gave me two or three twitches by ye hair, otherwise I Escaped without any Punishment from them."

While he was at Medoctec one of the chiefs desired Pote to read a contract or treaty made about fourteen years before by his tribe with the Governor of Nova Scotia. He also had an interview with one Bonus

Castine, who had just arrived at Medoctec, and who examined him very strictly. At his master's suggestion he remained close in camp, as the Indians were dancing and singing the greater part of the night, and Castine had made use of expressions that showed his life was in great danger.

The following day the Hurons resumed their journey and in due time arrived at Quebec. At times they suffered from lack of food, though fish were usually abundant, and on one occasion they caught in a small cove, a few miles below the mouth of the Tobique, fifty-four salmon in the course of a few hours.

In the summer of the year 1749, peace having been proclaimed with France, Capt. Edward How went to the St. John River in the warship "Albany," and had several interviews with the Indians, who agreed to send deputies to Halifax to renew their submission to the King of England. Accordingly on the 12th of August, some of the chiefs with their attendants, went to Halifax to pay their respects to Governor Cornwallis and to agree upon articles of peace.

Greatly must these children of the wilderness have wondered at the busy scene that met their eyes on landing at Chebucto. A colony of two thousand five hundred persons had settled on a spot hitherto almost without inhabitant, and the Town of Halifax was rising, as if by magic, from the soil which less than eight weeks before had been covered by a dense forest. The sound of the axe, hammer and saw was heard on every hand.

Two days after their arrival the Indians were received on board the man-of war "Beaufort" by Cornwallis and his entire council. The delegates announced that they were from Aukpaque, Medoctec, Passamaquoddy and

Chignecto, and that their respective chiefs were François de Salle of Octpagh, Noel Tobig of Medoctec, Neptune Abbadouallete of Passamaquoddy and Joannes Pedousaghtigh of Chignecto. They brought with them a copy of the treaty made with their tribes in 1728 and expressed a desire to renew it. After the usual negotiations the treaty was engrossed on parchment and signed by the Indians, each chief appending to his signature his private mark, or "totem." Eleven members of the council signed the treaty on behalf of the government of Nova Scotia.

A few days later the Indians returned to the St. John River, where the treaty was duly ratified, and thirteen chiefs signed the following declaration :

"The Articles of Peace concluded at Chebucto the Fifteenth of August, 1749, with His Excellency Edward Cornwallis Esq'r, Capt. General Governor and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia or Acadie, and signed by our Deputies, having been communicated to us by Edward How Esq'r, one of His Majesty's Council for said Province, and faithfully interpreted to us by Madame De Belleisle Inhabitant of this River nominated by us for that purpose, We the Chiefs and Captains of the River St. Johns and places adjacent do for ourselves and our different Tribes confirm and ratify the same to all intents and purposes.

Given under our hands at the River St. Johns this fourth day of September, 1749. "

It seems uncertain whether the interpreter, Madame Belleisle, was the wife of Alexander le Borgne de Belleisle, then well advanced in years, or her daughter, Françoise Belleisle Robichaux. That the latter had a position of influence is shown by the fact that when the

chiefs of the River St. John went to Halifax in 1768 (nearly twenty years later) they complained that the ornaments of their church had been taken by Françoise Belleisle Robicheau and carried to Canada and that she refused to give them up. The presumption is that the ornaments were intrusted to her care by the missionary, Germain, when he left the river and that she took them with her to Quebec for safe keeping.

The English colonial authorities congratulated Cornwallis on his treaty with the Indians. "We are glad to find," say they, "that the Indians of the St. John River have so willingly submitted to His Majesty's government and renewed their treaty, and as they are the most powerful tribe in those parts, we hope their example may either awe or influence the other inferior tribes to the like compliance."

Cornwallis replied "I intend if possible to keep up a good understanding with the St. John Indians, a warlike people, tho' treaties with Indians are nothing, nothing but force will prevail."

Alexandre le Borgne de Belleisle was living on the River St. John as late at least as 1754 and was regarded by the Nova Scotia authorities as "a very good man." The site of his residence is indicated on Charles Morris' map of 1765 and a settlement of four houses in the same vicinity, marked "Robicheau" in Holland's map of 1758, was doubtless the place of residence of Frances Belleisle Robichaux. The name of Nid d'Aigle, or Eagle's Nest, is applied to this locality in Bellin's map of 1744. D'Anville's map of 1755 has at the same place "Etablissement François," or French Settlement. At this point the river is very narrow, only about a five minutes paddle across. The situation commands an

extensive and beautiful view both up and down the river. During the war of 1812 the British government built at Nid d'Aigle (or Worden's) a half-moon battery with a magazine in rear and a block-house on the crest of the hill still farther back, the ruins of which are frequently visited by tourists. It is probable that there was previously an earthwork here built by the French Commander Boishébert about the year 1756. No better post of defence could well be chosen, for the narrowness of the channel renders it well nigh impossible for an enemy to creep past either by day or night without detection.

When Colonel Monckton ravaged the settlements of the Acadians in 1758 he mentions the destruction, at this place, of a few houses that were some time past inhabited by the Robicheaus. Pierre Robichaux removed to l'Islet in Quebec, where his wife Françoise le Borgne de Belleisle died in 1791, in her 80th year, leaving numerous descendants. All that remains to remind us of the sojourn of Alexandre le Borgne de Belleisle and his children on the Saint John is the name preserved in Belleisle Bay and River.



## CHAPTER X.

The Boundary Question — Treaty of Utrecht — Attack on Grand Prè — French Claims to the St. John — Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle Followed by an English Invasion of Territory Claimed by France — The Acadian Expulsion — The Sieur de Boishèbert.



The St. John river region may be said to have been in dispute from the moment the treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713 until the capture of Quebec in 1759. By the treaty of Utrecht all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, comprehended within its ancient boundaries, was ceded to Great Britain, and the English at once claimed possession of the territory bordering on the St. John. To this the French offered strong objection, claiming that Acadia included merely the peninsula south of the Bay of Fundy, a claim which, as already stated, was strangely at variance with their former contention that the western boundary of Acadia was the River Kennebec.

Possibly the Marquis de Vaudreuil felt a special interest in the St. John River country, owing to the fact that his wife Louise Elizabeth Joibert was born at Fort Jemseg while her father, the Sieur de Soulanges, was governor of Acadia. At any rate the marquis stoutly asserted the right of the French to the sovereignty of that region and he wrote to the Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia in 1748, "I pray you not to permit your English vessels to go into the river St. John, which is always of

French dominion." He also encouraged the Acadians of the peninsula to withdraw to the river St. John so as not to be under British domination, pledging them his support and stating that Father Loyard, the Jesuit missionary, should have authority to grant them lands agreeably to their wishes.

Lieut. Governor Doucett, of Nova Scotia, complained of the aggressive policy of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, asserting that he was entirely mistaken as to the ownership of the St. John river, for it was "about the centre of Nova Scotia;" he was satisfied, nevertheless, that the Acadians believed it would never be taken possession of by the British, and if the proceedings of the French were not stopped they would presently claim everything within cannon shot of his fort at Annapolis.

Under the peaceful sway of their missionary, Loyard, the Indians observed their treaty with the English fairly well, but as time went on and the warrior priests, le Loutre and Germain, assumed the guidance of the savages, their attitude became more and more unfriendly to the English. A year or two after war had been declared in 1744 a great war party, including Abenakis of Quebec and their kinsmen of the River St. John, arrived at Aukpaque, whence they took their way to Chignecto, accompanied by their missionary Germain. Some of this band took part in the midwinter night attack, of Coulon de Villiers, on Colonel Noble's post at Grand Pré. The English on this occasion were taken utterly by surprise; Noble himself fell fighting in his shirt, and his entire party were killed, wounded or made prisoners. From the military point of view this was one of the most brilliant exploits in the annals of Acadia and, what is better, the visitors behaved with great humanity to the vanquished.

The missionaries le Loutre and Germain were naturally very desirous of seeing French supremacy restored in Acadia and the latter proposed an expedition against Annapolis. With that end in view he proceeded to Quebec and returned with a supply of powder, lead and ball for his Maliseet warriors. However, in October, 1748, the peace of Aix la Chapelle put a stop to open hostilities.

Immediately after the declaration of peace, Captain Gorham, with his rangers and a detachment of auxiliaries, proceeded in two ships to the River St. John and ordered the French inhabitants to send deputies to Annapolis to give an account of their conduct during the war.

Count de la Galissonnière strongly protested against Gorham's interference with the Acadians on the St. John, which he described as "a river situated on the Continent of Canada." He stoutly contended that Gorham and all other British officers must be forbidden to interfere with the French who lived there, or to engage them to make submissions contrary to the allegiance due to the King of France "who," he says, "is their master as well as mine, and has not ceded this territory by any treaty."

The Acadians on the St. John, whose allegiance was in dispute, were a mere handful of settlers. The Abbé le Loutre wrote in 1748: "There are fifteen or twenty French families on this river, the rest of the inhabitants are savages called Marichites (Maliseets) who have for their missionary the Jesuit, Father Germain." His statement as to the number of Acadian settlers is corroborated by Mascarene, who notified the British authorities that thirty leagues up the river were seated twenty families of French inhabitants, sprung originally

from the Nova Scotia side of the Bay, most of them since his memory, who, many years ago, came to Annapolis and took the oath of fidelity. He adds, "the whole river up to its head, with all the northern coast of the Bay of Fundy, was always reckoned dependent on this government."

Both Mascarene and Shirley strongly urged the importance of settling the limits of Acadia, and a little later commissioners were appointed, two on each side, to determine the matter. They spent four fruitless years over the question, and it remained undecided until settled by the arbitrament of the sword. Shirley was one of the commissioners, as was also the Marquis de la Galissonnière, and it is not to be wondered at that with two such determined men on opposite sides and differing so widely in their views, there should have been no solution of the difficulty.

The period now under consideration is really a very extraordinary one. Ostensibly it was a time of peace. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 England gave back Cape Breton to France, and France restored Madras to England, but the boundaries between the possessions of the rival powers in America were not defined.

So far as the situation in America was concerned the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle scarcely deserved the name of a truce. It was merely a breathing spell in which preparations were being made for the final struggle. The English were naturally the most aggressive for the population of the English colonies was 1,200,000 while Canada had but 60,000 people.

Count de la Galissonnière, the governor-general of Canada, though diminutive in stature and slightly deformed, was resolute and energetic ; he was moreover

a statesman, and had his policy been followed it would have been better for France. He advised his government to send out ten thousand peasants from the rural districts and settle them along the frontiers of the disputed territory, but the French court thought it unadvisable to depopulate France in order to people the wilds of Canada. Failing in this design, the Count determined vigorously to assert the sovereignty of his country over the immense territory in dispute. Accordingly he claimed for his royal master all the country north of the Bay of Fundy west to the Kennebec, and his officers established fortified posts on the River St. John and at the Isthmus of Chignecto. He at the same time stirred up the Indians and endeavored to get the Acadians to remove to the River St. John and other parts of the disputed territory. His policy led to a counter policy on the part of Shirley and Lawrence. They decided that the Acadians could not be allowed to go where they liked and do as they pleased, that they must remain on their lands and take the oath of allegiance to the English sovereign or be removed to situations where they could do no injury to the interests of the British colonies in the then critical condition of affairs.

Ostensibly there was peace from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle until war was declared between the rival powers in 1756. But in the meantime there was a collision between them on the Ohio river, where the French had built Fort Duquèsne on the site now occupied by Pittsburg. The governors of the English colonies decided on an aggressive and startling programme for a time of peace. Gen. Braddock was ordered to march on Fort Duquèsne and drive the

French from the Ohio valley, Shirley was directed to lead an expedition against Niagara, William Johnson to take Crown Point and secure control of Lake Champlain, and in Acadia, Colonel Monckton was to attack Fort Beauséjour. In every instance the English were the aggressors but they justified their action on the ground that the places to be attacked were in British territory. This the French as emphatically denied. Braddock's attempt resulted in a disastrous failure, Shirley's expedition was abandoned, William Johnson won a brilliant victory at Lake George and Colonel Monckton captured Beauséjour.

The course of events on the River St. John and in other parts of Acadia harmonizes with the general situation of affairs in America at this time.

Early in the summer of 1749 the Count de la Galissonnière had sent the Sieur de Boishèbert to the lower part of the River St. John with a small detachment to secure the inhabitants against the threats of Capt. Gorham, who had been sent by the Governor of Nova Scotia to make them renew the oath of allegiance, which de la Galissonnière says "they ought never to have taken." The Count expressed his views on the situation with terseness and vigor; "The River St. John is not the only place the English wish to invade. They claim the entire coast, from that river to Beaubassin, and from Canso to Gaspé, in order to render themselves sovereigns of all the territory of the Abenakis, who are subjects of the king of France, a nation that has never acknowledged nor wishes to acknowledge their domination and which is the most faithful to us in Canada. If we abandon to England this land, which comprises more than 180 leagues of seacoast, that is to

say almost as much as from Bayonne to Dunkirk, we must renounce all communication by land from Canada to Acadia and Isle Royale (Cape Breton) together with the means of succoring the one and retaking the other."

"It is very easy," he adds, "to hinder the English establishing themselves on these lands. They will have to proceed through the woods and along narrow rivers, and as long as the French are masters of the Abenakis and the Acadians are provided with arms and supplies from France the English will not expose themselves to their attacks."

Both sides now began to consider the advisability of taking forcible possession of the disputed territory, but the French were the first to take action.

Early in the summer of 1749, Count Galissonnière sent his lieutenant, Boishébert, with a detachment of troops to the mouth of the River St. John to make a settlement there and to re-establish the fort. Governor Cornwallis sent the sloop of war "Albany" from Halifax to see what the French were doing, and to demand their authority. When the "Albany" arrived, her commander, Capt. Rous, found the old fort deserted and no inhabitants, either French or Indian, to be seen. While he was waiting in a state of uncertainty, a French schooner entered the harbor, laden with supplies. Capt. Rous seized her, but promised to release her if the master would go up the river and bring down the French officers for a parley. The master accordingly went up the river in a canoe, bearing the following letter to Boishébert:

"At the River St. John, 3rd July, 1749.

"Sir, — I am directed by the King, my master, to look into and examine the various ports, harbors and

rivers of his majesty's Province of Nova Scotia, and am now here with that intent. Having learned that you are now upon the river with a detachment of soldiers of the King of France, I should be pleased to learn by what authority and with what intention you are engaged in similar proceedings. It would afford me much pleasure could I have the honor of a personal interview, in order to convince you of the rights of the King, my master. I shall also be pleased to see some of the Indian chiefs in order to inform them of the peace and harmony now established between the two crowns, and to confer with them.

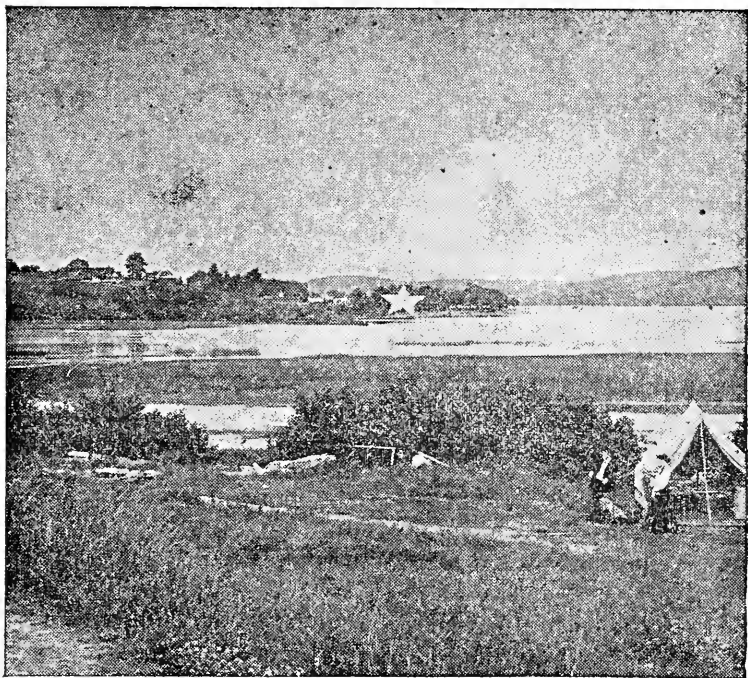
"Until I shall have the honor, as I hope, of seeing you, I am very truly,

"Your humble servant,

"JOHN ROUS."

In response to this invitation, Boishébert went down the river the next day, accompanied by a detachment of thirty soldiers and 150 Indian warriors. The party took position, with their colors flying, on the west side of the harbor, at a point on the shore within musket shot of the "Albany." Rous immediately ordered the French to strike their colors. Their commander demurred, and asked to be allowed to march back with his colors flying, promising to return the next day without them. Rous, however, ordered the colors to be struck immediately, which being done, the officers were invited on board the "Albany." They showed their instructions from the Governor of Quebec, from which it appeared that their first instruction had been to re-establish and garrison the old French fort. But later the order had been countermanded, and Boishébert was required merely to

prevent the English from making any settlement until the right of possession had been settled by the two crowns. Boishébert had fixed his headquarters ten miles up the river, at the place now known as Woodman's Point, where he built a small fort, known as



SITE OF FORT BOISHEBERT (WOODMAN'S POINT).

Fort de Nerepice, on the site of the Indian fort which stood there in the days of Villebon. By arrangement with Capt. Rous, the French were permitted to remain undisturbed until the next spring, on the understanding that no fortifications were to be built.

Boishèbert continued to move freely up and down the river. At one time he writes from Menagoeche at another from Aukpaque, at another we find him at Medoctec. The Marquis la Jonquière, who succeeded to the governorship of Quebec at this time, realized the importance of the river St. John as "the key of the country," and encouraged Boishèbert to hold possession.

In the years that follow there were frequent collisions between English and French war vessels in the Bay of Fundy. In October, 1750, Capt. Rous, in the "Albany," had an encounter with the Sieur de Vergor in the "St. Francis," a vessel of ten guns and a crew of seventy men. After a running fight, lasting nearly five hours, the "St. Francis" was so crippled by the loss of her mainmast and injuries to her sails and rigging that Vergor was obliged to surrender.

Governor Cornwallis found his position a difficult one at this juncture. Halifax was yet in its infancy and comparatively defenceless. Louisburg and Quebec were French strongholds. The Marquis la Jonquière continued to encourage the Indians to oppose every attempt on the part of the English to effect a settlement on the River St. John. He wrote to the French Minister: "It is easy to hinder the English from establishing themselves on those lands. They will have to proceed through the woods and along the rivers; and so long as the French are masters of the Indians, and the Acadians are provided with arms and supplies, the English will not expose themselves to their attacks."

La Jonquière desired Boishèbert to observe much caution in his proceedings, as it was a time of peace. He was to act very secretly, so that the English might not perceive who were supplying the Indians with

munitions of war and provisions. He adds; "If all turns out as I hope, we shall retain our lands, and the English will not be able to establish any 'settlements before the boundaries in dispute have been determined by the two crowns."

The policy of employing the savages to deter the English from occupying the vacant lands was attended with success. The threats and occasional raids of the Micmacs and Maliseets kept the infant colony of Nova Scotia in a continuous state of alarm, and effectually prevented all attempts at settlement.

Governor Lawrence succeeded Cornwallis, only to find himself involved in the same perplexity. He wrote the British minister. "What can I do to encourage people to settle on frontier lands, where they run the risk of having their throats cut by inveterate enemies, who easily effect their escape by their knowledge of every creek and corner?"

In the summer of 1750, Captain Cobb, in the sloop "York," found a French brigantine anchored near the old fort at St. John. The brigantine was laden with provisions and supplies for the Indians and Acadians, and had on board a considerable detachment of troops. She fired an alarm gun on sight of the "York." Cobb anchored under the lee of Partridge Island, and sent a party of men in a whale boat to reconnoitre. They were fired on by the French and Indians. Boishébert insisted that Cobb should quit the harbor, as it belonged to the French King, and threatened that unless he did so, his Indians would destroy the sloop and her crew. Not to be daunted, Cobb hoisted anchor and brought his sloop up the harbor until he discovered the enemy on the west side at "a small fortification by a little hill."

Boishébert's forces included two hundred Indians and fifty or sixty of the Acadians who were living on the river. Captain Cobb was foolish enough to go on shore, under a flag of truce for a parley. He was made prisoner, and compelled to send an order to his vessel not to molest the French brigantine. This order his mate declined to receive, and immediately seized the bearers of the message as hostages for Cobb's release. A mutual exchange ensued. Cobb honored his promise not to make the French brigantine his prize, but carried off six of her crew in the "York" as prisoners to Halifax. A day or two later Capt. Dove, in H. M. Ship "Hound," arrived off the harbor, and, unconscious of the situation, sent his lieutenant in a whale boat to reconnoitre. The officer was invited on shore by Boishébert, and, of course, made a prisoner. He was released upon his promise that the prisoners carried off by Cobb should be returned. These were among the humorous incidents arising out of the curious state of affairs existing.

In order to escape the difficulties of sending supplies by sea, and the consequent danger of their seizure by British war vessels, the Marquis le Jonquière spent a considerable sum of money in making a road from the St. Lawrence to the Upper St. John, via Rivière du Loup and Lake Temiscouata. This road, he informed the French minister, would be very useful, supposing the English should continue to stop the vessels sent to the mouth of the river. "I have given orders," he adds, "to the Sieur de Boishébert to repair the old fort called Menacoeche, at the mouth of the river, and to build a barrack for the officers and 100 men, with necessary magazines. The whole to be built of logs, and I have

expressly recommended Boishébert to have it done with very little expense to the King, and to that end he is to employ the soldiers and militia."

The site of this fort is well known locally. It stood on the little hill or mound opposite Navy Island, at the foot of King Street, in Carleton. The terraces of the fort were about twenty-five feet high on the outside and twelve feet on the inside. La Jonquière believed the fort to be indispensable, for if the French were to abandon the place, the English would immediately take possession. The Marquis was not too scrupulous as to the means employed to frustrate the lodgment of the English. Not only were the Indians to annoy the English on all occasions, and to plunder any ships that should come to St. John, but he suggested that the Acadians, dressed and painted like savages, should lead them in their attacks. This was all that could be ventured, since the French were restrained from open hostility by the peace. The Marquis certainly displayed much zeal in the King's service. "I beg you to feel assured, Monsigneur," he writes, "that I will manage everything so as not to compromise myself, and that I will not give up an inch of land that belongs to the King. It is time the limits should be settled, that we may know positively what we are to hold."

The services of Roishébert were now required elsewhere, and the Sieur de Gaspé, lieutenant of infantry, was sent to replace him, remaining two years and a half in command. He writes from his headquarters at Fort de Nerepice in June, 1751, that he will do his best to complete the fort at the mouth of the river. However, his progress was slow. The workmen had no tools except axes. Laborers were few. Discipline was

bad. The soldiers refused to work, and de Gaspé was afraid to try to compel them, apprehending their desertion. The fort had four bastions. In addition to the barracks and magazines, it was proposed to construct a log house to accommodate the surgeon and chaplain, and to serve as a guard house.

The situation of the Acadians on the Saint John at this time was a most unfortunate one. They were greatly straitened for the necessities of life. Communication with Quebec was difficult by land, and the vigilance of the English cruisers cut off supplies by sea. They were even impoverished by their friends, for on one occasion they had to furnish subsistence for a party of nearly three hundred Canadians and Indians under Montesson, and in so doing were obliged to sacrifice the grain and cattle needed for the seeding and tillage of their fields.

The French commissioners asserted that the English pretensions to the lands north of the Bay of Fundy had no foundation, for if that territory were ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, how was it they said that the the valley of the St. John had for forty years remained in quiet and peaceable possession of the Acadians? "The English now sought to expel the Acadians, to deprive them of their property and their homes, to sell the lands they had cultivated and made valuable, and by such transactions to expose Europe to the danger of seeing the fires of war re-kindled. Whatever sacrifices France might be disposed to make in order to maintain public tranquillity, it would be difficult indeed for her to allow herself to be deprived of the navigation of the River St. John, . . . a necessary route of communication. . . . We do not fear to say,"

they add, "that the object of the English is not confined to the country they claim under the name of Acadia; their object is to make a general invasion of Canada, and to pave the way to universal empire in America."

There can be no doubt that such was the desire of the people of New England, whose antipathy to the French was very largely responsible for the brutality which attended the Acadian expulsion a few years later. According to the statement of Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, there were at this time about one hundred French families on the St. John River; the French had strengthened their fort at the mouth of the river with guns and men; a French frigate of thirty guns lay behind Partridge Island waiting for a cargo of furs, and the French seemed to be entirely masters of the situation.

The site of the French fort on the west side of the harbor, opposite Navy Island, is shown in the plan of Fort Frederick on another page. The first fort on this site goes back to the days of La Tour and Charnisay, more than two centuries and a half ago. It was occupied a little later by La Tour's son-in-law, the Sieur de Martignon. In the course of time it fell into decay, and was re-built by Governor Villebon, as already related, about the close of the seventeenth century. Villebon died there on the 5th of July, 1700, and is believed to have been buried in the old French graveyard behind the fort. The place is also, in all probability, the last resting place of Charles La Tour.

After the fort was re-established by Villebon, it was usually referred to, in the official correspondence, as "Fort de la Rivière de St. Jean," or "Fort Menagoeche."

Fort Boishébert, at Woodman's Point on the Nerepis, was a difficult post to maintain owing to the insufficiency of the troops at de Gaspé's disposal. He complains that the savages had broken in the door of the storeroom, and he thought it advisable to abandon it altogether. The Marquis de la Jonquière ordered him to consult with Father Germain on the subject and meanwhile to double the guard. The missionary was of the same opinion as the Sieur de Gaspé, and permission was accordingly given to abandon the fort and to transport the supplies wherever they might be needed.

The Jesuit missionary at Penobscot, Father Gounon, proposed to spend the winter at "Nerepisse" with his Indians, but the governor of Canada did not at all approve of it, fearing that if the savages were to abandon their village the English would advance from the westward by degrees to the River St. John.

The statement made in our school histories that Acadia was ceded to the English by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, and has remained a British possession ever since, is very misleading, so far as the St. John River country is concerned, for the French clung tenaciously to this territory as part of the dominions of their monarch until General Monckton's occupation of the river in the year 1758. The deliberations of the French and English commissioners concerning the limits of Acadia lasted four years. The documentary evidence presented by the commissioners contains a good deal of information concerning the River St. John, but the proceedings of the commission need not be referred to at any length. In the preparation of their case the French had the valuable assistance of the Abbé le Loutre and the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu.

Father Germain was at this time the active political agent of the governor of Quebec, as well as missionary to the Indians and Acadians at Aukpaque and its vicinity. His advancement to the office of Superior-general of the house of the Jesuits in Canada had been decided on, but as this would have meant his removal from the River St. John at a critical time, it was opposed by Count de la Galissonnière and the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, who counted much on his ability and zeal to uphold the interest of France in the territory in dispute. At this time Germain had more than eighty families under his pastoral care and was obliged to make occasional visits to the fort lately re-established at the mouth of the river where there was then neither chapel nor priest.

Medoctec was served by the Jesuit Loverga, a very old man whom it was proposed to replace by a younger missionary, as the mission was daily becoming more important on account of the number of savages who resorted there for the purpose of beaver hunting.

It is little wonder that the French should have been very reluctant to part with the control of the St. John River. From the day of its discovery by Champlain it had proved of ever increasing importance to them as a means of communication between the widely separated portions of New France. As early as the year 1693 Cadillac had written entertainingly and with enthusiasm of the river, which he ascended nearly one hundred and fifty leagues in a birch canoe. He describes it as being a well known route of communication between the people of Acadia and those of Quebec. The Indians had used the route from time immemorial, the French followed their example, as, at a later period, did the English. The missionaries le Loutre and de l'Isle-Dieu, in the

statement compiled by them in 1753, for the use of the French commissioners, observe that "it is very easy to maintain communication with Quebec, winter and summer, by the River St. John, and the route is particularly convenient for detachments of troops needed either for attack or defence." They give the stations along the route from Quebec to Fort Beauséjour as follows :

From Quebec to the River du Loup.

From River du Loup by a portage of 18 leagues to Lake Temiscouata.

From Lake Temiscouata to Madaoechka [Madawaska.]

From Madaoechka to Grand Falls.

From Grand Falls to Medoctek.

From Medoctek to Ecouba [Aukpaque], post of the Indians of the Jesuit missionary, Father Germain.

From Ecouba to Jemsec.

From Jemsec, leaving the River St. John and traversing Dagidemoech [Washademoak] lake, ascending by the river of the same name, thence by a portage of six leagues to the River Petkoudiak.

From Petkoudiak to Memeramcouk descending the river which bears that name.

From Memeramcouk by a portage of three leagues to Nechkak [Westcock].

From Nechkak to Beauséjour.

By this route the troops commanded by the French officers Marin and Montesson arrived at Beauséjour in less than a month from the time of their departure from Quebec, the distance being about 500 miles.

In the war of 1812 the 104th regiment, raised in New Brunswick, left St. John on the 11th day of February and on the 27th of the same month crossed the

St. Lawrence on the ice and entered Quebec 1,000 strong, having accomplished a march of 435 miles in midwinter in sixteen days and, as Col. Playfair, says without the loss of a man.

In the year 1837 the 43rd Light Infantry marched from Fredericton to Quebec in the month of December in almost precisely the same time, but the conditions were distinctly more favorable; the season was not so rigorous, roads and bridges had been constructed over the greater portion of the route and supplies could be obtained to better advantage. Yet it is said the great Duke of Wellington observed of this march of the 43rd Light Infantry, "It is the only achievement performed by a British officer that I really envy." How much greater honor is due to the gallant Hundred-and-Fourth whose men, poorly fed and insufficiently clad, passed over the route on showshoes in the middle of a most inclement winter, a quarter of a century before, to defend Canadian homes from a foreign invader?

During the prolonged negotiations concerning the limits of Acadia, le Loutre and de l'Isle Dieu suggested to Count de la Galissonnière that in case of failure to establish the claims of France to the territory north of the Bay of Fundy, the St. John River country might be left in the possession of its native inhabitants. Many years before the Marquis de Vaudreuil had encouraged the Maliseets to regard this region as their own, and his proposal to build a church for them at Medoctec had, as one of its principal objects, the providing them with a new and powerful inducement to cling to the locality where the church stood, and not by any means to abandon their old fort and village. The Jesuit historian, Charlevoix, urged the French ministry not to delay the

settlement of the boundaries of Acadia which should be done in such a way as to guarantee the Abenakis peaceable possession of their country, where it was very necessary they should remain in order to defend it from the English, for if the English were allowed to occupy the country and to secure themselves in possession by building strong forts the result would be that they would become masters of all of New France south of Quebec. "If this happens" he says, "it will certainly follow that the Abenakis will join the enemy and will abandon their religion, and our most faithful allies will become our most dangerous foes."

Apprehensive and dissatisfied as were the French at the existing state of affairs the situation on the St. John was not viewed with complacency by the authorities of Nova Scotia and New England. On the 18th October, 1753, Governor Hopson wrote the Lords of Trade and Plantations that he had been informed by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, that since the arrival of a French missionary at the River St. John the conduct of the inhabitants had altered for the worse; the French had now 100 families settled on the river, had greatly strengthened the old fort at its mouth with guns and men, and had built a new one some miles up the river, armed with twenty-four guns and garrisoned by 200 regulars.

In the month of January, 1754, Lieut.-Governor Lawrence informed the Lords of Trade that the French were hard at work making settlements on the Saint John and were offering great inducements to the Acadians of the peninsula to join them. In his opinion it was absolutely necessary, for the development and control of Acadia as an English colony, that the forts of Beauséjour and at the

mouth of the River St. John should be destroyed, and the French driven from the settlements they were establishing north of the Bay of Fundy. The Indians had committed no hostilities for two years, but he believed no dependence could be placed on their quietude so long as the French were allowed to exercise their disturbing influence among them.

Lawrence now began to consult with Shirley about the deportation of the Acadians. He proposed that 2,000 troops should be raised in New England, which, together with those in Nova Scotia, would be sufficient for the business, and that the command should be assigned to Colonel Robert Monckton. This plan, as all the world knows, was carried into execution. The first important event was the capture of Beauséjour. The details of the siege need not be given, suffice it to say that after a bombardment of four days the French commander, Vergor, on the 16th of June, 1755, surrendered his fort to Monckton, and from thenceforth it was garrisoned by the British, and Fort Cumberland. Monckton received orders to destroy the fort at St. John. Captain Rous, of the "Albany," was sent there with three twenty-gun ships and a sloop of war. A report was current that the French had two thirty-six gun ships anchored near the fort. Rous anchored at Partridge Island, and sent his boats up the harbor to reconnoitre. They found no ships. Boishébert, seeing that resistance was useless abandoned his fort, and, as far as he was able, demolished it, burst his cannon, blew up his magazines, burned everything he could, and retired up the river to a *detroit* or "narrows," where he erected a small battery and again took post.

A few weeks later there occurred the tragic event known in history as the Acadian Expulsion. The agents-

employed were New England troops, under the command of Monckton and Col. John Winslow. Winslow had little taste for the business in which he was employed. In his proclamation to the Acadians of Grand Pré, he says: "The duty I am now upon, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my make and temper." The same, we fear, cannot be said of the rank and file of his forces, for one of his captains writes: "You know our soldiers hate them ( the Acadians ), and if they can find a pretence to kill them they will."

Nearly seven thousand Acadians were removed from Nova Scotia and distributed among the American colonies as far south as Georgia. An exciting incident in connection with the expulsion may be here related. On the 8th December, 1755, five vessels sailed from Annapolis with 1,664 of the exiles, whose destinations were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and South Carolina, the whole under convoy of a British sloop of war. One of the transport ships, a snow (or brig) carried thirty-two families, destined for South Carolina. From New York the vessel was to proceed on her way unattended. Small parties of the Acadians were from time to time allowed on deck for air and exercise. Several of the bolder spirits laid a plot to seize the ship. A favorable opportunity offered when the hatchway was open to allow those who had been on deck to descend. The conspirators sprang from the hold, and in the twinkling of an eye, were engaged in a hand to hand encounter with the crew. The latter were overpowered and tied fast. The leader of this spirited affair was Charles Belliveau who was an excellent seaman. He took the helm, and after an exciting experience brought the vessel safely to St. John. Governor Lawrence sent

an English schooner to St. John, hoping by strategem to regain possession of the vessel and recapture the Acadians. The schooner entered the harbor under French colors, having on board a party of Rangers disguised as French soldiers. The captain sent his boat ashore with four French deserters, who announced that the schooner was from Louisburg with supplies. The French were completely deceived and might all have been captured had not the English inadvertently discovered themselves too soon. In consequence they were obliged to retire without accomplishing their purpose.

Acadian refugees continued to come to the river from various quarters. Their condition was pitiable in the extreme. Some had journeyed on foot or in canoes through miles of unexplored wilderness; others had come in small vessels from far-distant Carolina, coasting furtively from colony to colony along the Atlantic shore until they reached the Bay of Fundy. Boishébert soon found himself in charge of more than a thousand helpless people. He sent some of them to Canada, for his forces were insufficient for their protection and his supplies were scanty.

The locations of the French settlements on the river at this period when the country was about to pass under British rule may be briefly described. At St. John the French had cleared some land on the west side of the harbor at spots marked as "gardens" in Lieut. Bruce's plan of 1761. The inhabitants, however, seem to have deserted the place when the fort was abandoned. There were a few settlers at the mouth of the Nerepis and a small settlement at Belleisle. At Gagetown there was quite an important French village, of which more will be said hereafter. A very old settlement existed at the

Jemseg, where there was an old abandoned fort. At the Oromocto River three hundred acres had been cleared. The largest and most important settlement was at St. Anne's Point, where the city of Fredericton stands to-day. Here the Acadians had cleared six or seven hundred acres and built a thriving village, with a little chapel, which stood near the Government House, and it is probable that their houses were scattered along the banks of the river as far as the Indian village of Aukpaque, six miles above.

The situation of the Sieur de Boishébert after the capture of Beauséjour and the destruction of the fort at St. John was a very embarrassing one. The Marquis de Vaudreuil directed him to establish a "flying camp" (*camp volant*) at such place as he deemed most suitable. The *detroit* where he constructed a small battery was probably the narrows at Evandale, a little above the mouth of the Belleisle. It is quite probable that the old fort at Worden's, opposite Evandale, which was built in the war of 1812, occupied the site of Boishebert's *camp volant* of 1755.

Evidently the Marquis de Vaudreuil relied much upon the sagacity and courage of his lieutenant on the St. John river in the crisis that had arisen. In his letter to the French colonial minister of the 18th October, 1755, he writes that the English are now masters of Fort Beauséjour and that Boishébert, the commander of the River St. John, has burnt his fort, not being able to oppose the descent of the enemy. He had orders to hold his position on the river and supplies had been sent him for the winter. It was hoped that Father Germain, who had gone to Quebec, would shortly return to his Indian mission and act in concert with Boishébert. The

Marquis de Vaudreuil cherished the hope that so long as he maintained a detachment of troops on the River St. John the French claim to the territory on the ground of continuous occupation would hold good. He regarded the presence of Boishebert's party as necessary to ensure fidelity on the part of the Indians. He realized also the importance of an advanced post from which to receive information as to the designs of the English and he hoped to employ the Indians and Acadians in a guerilla warfare against any further advance on Canada from the south.

The Indians were not inactive for about this time they captured by a night attack a large schooner lying at anchor in Harbor L'Etang, bound from Boston to Annapolis Royal with provisions for the British garrison. The schooner carried six guns and had a crew of ten men besides her captain and an artillery officer of the Annapolis garrison. The vessel was carried to St. John and hidden on the lower part of the river. The savages pillaged her so completely that on her arrival there remained only a small quantity of bacon and a little rum. The prisoners were sent by Boishébert to Canada along with others previously captured.

Acadian refugees continued to come to the River St. John in increasing numbers, and Boishébert and the missionaries soon found themselves reduced to straits in their endeavor to supply them with the necessaries of life. The Marquis de Vaudreuil was determined to hold the St. John river country as long as possible. He wrote the French minister, June 1, 1756: "I shall not recall M. de Boishébert nor the missionaries, nor withdraw the Acadians into the heart of the colony until the last extremity, and when it shall be morally impossible to do better."

The difficulties surmounted by the Acadians who succeeded in returning from exile are in some instances almost incredible. A party who were transported to South Carolina from Beaubassin, at the head of the Bay of Fundy, travelled on foot to Fort du Quesne (Pittsburg). They managed to get from that place to Quebec, but could not rest content until they arrived at the River St. John. The ensuing winter proved most trying and the unfortunate people were unable to appear abroad for want of clothes to cover their nakedness and many of them died. To heighten the discomfort of their situation war was again declared between England and France.

The capture of Quebec and Louisburg became now the ambition of the English Colonies as well as of the Mother Country. The importance of occupying the St. John River was not lost sight of. On November 3rd, 1756, the Governor of Nova Scotia writes that he is gratified that he is to receive a reinforcement which may enable him to establish a fort at the mouth of the St. John, and to dispossess the French. English ships of war continued occasionally to visit the north side of the Bay of Fundy, so that the French had no opportunity to re-establish their fort.

Governor Lawrence determined to wage a merciless warfare against the Indians. Accordingly, with the advice and approval of his council, he issued a proclamation offering a reward of £30 for every Indian warrior brought in alive, a reward of £25 for the scalp of every male Indian above the age of sixteen years, and for every woman or child brought in alive the sum of £25; these rewards to be paid by the commanding officer at any of His Majesty's Forts in the Province on receiving the prisoners or scalps.

This cold-blooded and deliberately issued proclamation can scarcely be excused on the plea that le Loutre and other French leaders had at various times offered rewards to their savage allies for bringing in the scalps of Englishmen. The savages, had, at least, the apology that they made war in accordance with the manner of their race, whereas the proclamation of the Governor of Nova Scotia was unworthy of an enlightened people. Nothing could be better calculated to lower and brutalize the character of a soldier than the offer of £25 for a human scalp.

About this time, two of the New England regiments were disbanded and returned to their homes, their period of enlistment having expired, and the difficulty of obtaining other troops prevented anything being attempted on the St. John for a year or two. Lawrence and Shirley, however, continued to discuss the details of their proposed expedition. Both governors seem to have had rather vague ideas of the number of the Acadians on the river and of the situation of their settlements. Shirley says he learned from the eastern Indians and New England traders that their principal settlement was about ninety miles up the river at a place called St. Annes, six miles below the old Indian town of Aukpaque. He thought that 800 or 1,000 men would be a force sufficient to clear the river and that after the enemy had been driven from their haunts the English would do well to establish a garrison in order to prevent their return and to overawe the Indians.



## CHAPTER XI.

The Surrender of Louisburg — General Monckton's Expedition to the St. John River — Occupation of St. John and Erection of Fort Frederick — Plight of the Acadians on the St. John — Map of the River by Samuel Holland.



THE expected assault of Louisburg did not take place until 1758. General Amherst was in command and General Wolfe one of his most energetic subordinates. Colonel Monckton in spite of his anxiety to take part in the operations of the siege was obliged to remain at Halifax, Governor Lawrence being with Amherst, but his regiment, the 60th, or Royal American, rendered good service. After a stout resistance Louisburg surrendered on the 26th of July.

The next step in the plan of campaign for the conquest of Canada was to dispossess the French from their occupation of the territory on the River St. John. This was regarded by New England as "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

In vain did the valiant Montcalm represent to the court at Versailles that it was essential for France to retain the territory north of the Bay of Fundy, or failing in that to leave this territory undivided and in the possession of its native inhabitants ; no such compromise would now satisfy the English.

As Monckton was the principal agent in an event of such historic importance as the permanent occupation of

the St. John River by the English, a few words may very properly be devoted to him.

Robert Monckton was the second son of John, first Viscount Galway, by his wife, Lady Elizabeth Manners, the youngest daughter of the Duke of Rutland. He entered upon his military career in Flanders in 1742, and was present in several engagements. Later he came to America, where, in 1752, we find him at Fort Lawrence, keeping watch over the French stronghold of Beauséjour, across the river Misseguash. Soon after he was in command of the garrison at Annapolis Royal. He commanded the troops at the reduction of Beauséjour in 1755, and the next year was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. In 1759 he served as second in command to General Wolfe at the taking of Quebec. Monckton was conspicuous for his bravery on the Plains of Abraham,\* where he was severely wounded.

General Monckton was subsequently appointed Governor of New York and at the time of his death, in 1782, was a member for Portsmouth in the British House of Commons.

The people of Massachusetts followed the course of events at Louisburg with the keenest interest. They had never been reconciled to its restoration to France after its gallant capture by the New England expedition under Sir William Pepperell in 1745. Many of their

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\* It is a curious circumstance that the presence of Wolfe's army on the Plains of Abraham was first discovered by Boishébert who was at the time sick in hospital at Quebec. Happening to glance out of his window very early one morning, his attention was attracted by the red lines of the British troops, who during the night had scaled the precipitous heights. Word was immediately sent to Montcalm, who on his arrival exclaimed · "There they are, just where they ought not to be!" and immediately made preparations for battle.

kinsmen were with Amherst in the second expedition, and they hailed their success with great satisfaction. The keen interest of New England in dispossessing the Acadians settled on the valley of the Saint John is shown in the newspapers of the day.

The *Boston Evening Post* of September 4th, 1758, informs its readers that intelligence has just been received from Louisburg "that Colonel Monckton, with a number of men, is to go up St. John's River, by which means 'tis hoped the French and Indians will be entirely routed from Nova Scotia." This service was originally intended to have been performed in August, 1757, by the 27th, 43rd and 46th Regiments under Brigadier Lawrence, but the plan was interfered with by two of these regiments being ordered to the southward with the main body of the army, upon receipt of the news of the unhappy fate of Fort William Henry.

The troops detailed for Monckton's expedition included 350 New England Rangers under Colonel Scott, the 35th Regiment under General Otway, the second battalion of the Royal Americans and a considerable artillery force, the whole amounting to 2,000 men.

Exaggerated reports of the strength of Boishébert's forces and of the numbers of the Acadians settled on the river were circulated, and, in consequence, Monckton's force was three or four times as large as was really necessary to overcome any opposition that might have been offered, but his having so many men enabled him to make rapid progress in the establishment of a fortified post. He experienced great difficulty, however, in providing provisions and supplies for his little army. Difficulty, too, was experienced in obtaining sloops and schooners to carry the troops up the river in order to



BRIGADIER-GENERAL ROBERT MONCKTON.



destroy the Acadian settlements. To facilitate the work, orders had already been sent to various places in New England and Nova Scotia to ship materials for the construction of a new fort and to provide the small craft required for going up the river.

After waiting several days for a fair wind, the troops appointed for the expedition sailed from Louisburg for Halifax on the 28th of August under convoy of two English frigates. Having completed their preparations, the expedition left Halifax for St. John on the 11th of September in the transport ships *Isabella*, *Wade*, *Alexander the Second*, *Viscount Falmouth*, *Lord Bleakney*, the sloops *York* and *Ulysses*, and one or two others, the whole under convoy of the *Squirrel*, man-of-war. The New England Rangers were commanded by Captains *McCurdy*, *Brewer*, *Goreham* and *Stark*. The Rangers proved the most effective of *Monckton's* troops in the work which followed.

The fleet anchored at *Partridge Island* off St. John harbor on the 18th September, a week after leaving Halifax. The sloops *York* and *Ulysses*, captains *Sylvanus Cobb* and *Jeremiah Rogers*, were sent up the harbor to reconnoitre, and on their return reported that they had seen only two or three people and that there was apparently nothing to prevent an immediate landing. However, General *Monckton* thought best to defer it to the next day. He afterwards learned that more than 200 Indians and some Frenchmen were waiting in ambush to oppose the landing, but the Indians were so overawed by the unexpected strength of the invaders that they did not venture to make any resistance and retired up the river to *St. Anne's*. The next day the entire fleet came into the harbor and anchored below the old fort on the

west side. Monckton sent Cobb with his sloop to Fort Cumberland to fetch Benoni Danks' company of Rangers, and some whale boats and Acadians to serve as pilots.

When Monckton landed he found the old French fort in ruins, but there lay about it the materials, logs, hewn timber, etc., collected by Boishébert and the Sieur de Gaspé for its restoration. Everything apparently remained just as it was when Captain Rous visited the harbor and drove off the French three years before. Monckton's journal contains a brief account of the events of the memorable day of occupation :

"Sep'r ye 20th. Made the signal for landing about nine, and soon after landed near the Old Fort with as many men as the boats could take, being about 400. Met with no opposition. The second division being landed I sent off Major Scott with about 300 Light Infantry and Rangers to make discovery, and advanced the two companies of Grenadiers to support him in case of necessity. The Major returned, having been above the Falls — he found some few tracks but not the least signs of any road or path — the woods very thick and bad marching. The troops being all landed I ordered the tents to be got on shore, and encamped the two regiments just at the back of the fort. The Light Infantry and Rangers under Major Scott encamped on the hill above."

With Monckton's account we may compare that of Captain John Knox who was at this time with the garrison at Annapolis.

"September 23d (1758). This day arrived at Annapolis His Majesty's sloop of war *Ulysses*, Capt. Rogers, from St. John River, by whom we learn that

Brigadier Monckton with the 35th and second battalion of the Royal American Regiment, a detachment of the royal train of artillery and a large body of rangers had arrived in that river on Saturday, the 16th instant; that they landed without opposition, hoisted the British colors on the old French Fort, were repairing it with all expedition and building barracks for a garrison of 300 men. This gentleman adds that upon his ship's first entering the harbor he saw three of the enemy; that one of them fired his piece up in the air, as a signal, and then they ran into the woods; that the Brigadier is making preparations to proceed farther up the river with a parcel of armed sloops and schooners, in order to destroy some store houses and an Indian settlement that are about twenty-five leagues up that river beyond our New Fort."

News travelled slowly in those days, and the people of Boston, though keenly interested in the expedition, did not learn anything of the course of events at St. John until about three weeks later. The Boston Evening Post of October 16th, contains this short account:

"Last Thursday morning arrived here Capt. Campbell, from Annapolis Royal. He left that garrison the Saturday before, and informs us that on the 1st. inst. an officer arrived there who had been with Brigadier Monckton up the River St. John with a number of troops from Halifax, to destroy what fortresses the enemy might have up that river; but that upon their landing they found the old fort had been evacuated a considerable time, as it was entirely gone to decay, and shrubs grown up about it; that there were considerable quantities of timber lying about, of which the Brigadier

intended to have erected a strong fort; that our troops had marched near 40 miles up the river, but discovered none of the enemy."

After Brigadier Monckton had landed his infantry, several days were spent in getting the provisions and supplies on shore. The heavy Artillery and three field pieces were also landed. Exploring parties were sent out from time to time. They found the country so rough and broken and the forest so dense that all agreed it was quite impracticable to proceed with the expedition by land. Monckton's ships were too large to go up the river or even to attempt with safety the passage of the Falls. Accordingly, Rogers was sent to Annapolis and Cobb to Fort Cumberland to press into the King's service any available sloops or schooners for transporting provisions and stores up the river. Meanwhile he had decided to restore the old fort, and work upon it was begun on the 24th of September. "My reasons," he says, "for fixing on this spot, though somewhat commanded by the hill on the back, were that it was so much work ready done to our hands, the command it would have of the harbor, the convenience of landing our stores, and the great difficulties that would have attended its being erected farther back from the shore, having no conveniency for moving our stores but by men. Besides, as the season was so far advanced, and we had still to go up the river, I thought it best to fix on what would be soonest done. . . . And in regard to the hill that has some command of it, it is only with cannon, which the enemy would find great difficulty in bringing, and this may hereafter be remedied by erecting some small work on it."

During the next few weeks there was a busy scene at the old fort. On a spot where just before there had been scarcely a human habitation, 2,000 men were encamped, and a fleet of a dozen vessels lay at anchor near the shore. For a month six hundred men were daily employed in the construction of the works at the fort. The sound of the pick and shovel, axe, hammer and saw, were heard on every hand.

St. John and Annapolis were in close touch in those days, as will appear from the following extracts from the journal of Captain John Knox :

"September 25th. This morning the *Ulysses*, sloop of war, sailed from Annapolis for St. John's harbor. Our Fort Major was sent to Brigadier Monckton to give him a true state of this garrison."

"September 26th. A sloop arrived here from Old York [Portsmouth, Maine,] with timber, planks and boards for the new fort on St. John's river."

"September 28th. Several sloops arrived here today with stores of all kinds for St. John's. The reason of their touching at this place is to be assured of our fleet and forces being there before them."

Upon Monckton's arrival Boishébert retired to Canada with his small force, and the Jesuit missionary, Germain, also retired with the Indians to Quebec, lest they should be enticed from allegiance to their old master, the King of France. The poor Acadians, in their settlements at Grimross, Oromocto and St. Anne's were left unprotected, and in a state of unrest and alarm. Their scouts soon divined the intention of the British general to proceed up the river, and every day increased their dire forebodings of coming disaster. They sought safety in the woods and lived after the Indian fashion. Their condition was pitiable.

While the fort was building, Monckton was engaged in collecting military stores, provisions and supplies of various kinds for which he sent to Fort Cumberland, Annapolis, Halifax and Boston. Reconnoitring parties of Rangers went up the river to the distance of eighty miles and brought back reports of their observations. The officers barracks were erected on the 2nd of October, but it was not until the 21st that the expedition was ready to go up the river.

Carleton never had so many able bodied citizens as Monckton's 2,000 soldiers, nor the city of St. John so large a body of troops as lay encamped for two months on the rising ground back of the fort on the west side of the harbor in the autumn of 1758. The fort, as re-constructed, was called Fort Frederick, and traces of its ramparts are visible at the present day.

Captain Cobb returned from Fort Cumberland on the 30th of September with Danks' company of Rangers, five whale boats and nine Acadians.

The extracts from Knox's journal, which follow, are interesting :

"October 6th. Vessels are continually running between this port [Annapolis], Boston, Halifax and St. John — now Fort Frederic. From the latter of these places our Fort Major is returned. He says that the new fort will be a strong compact place, will mount 21 pieces of cannon, from four to twelve pounders, besides several mortars, swivels and wall pieces, and that the barracks for the garrison are almost finished. Brigadier Monckton had detached a small reconnoitring party of rangers up the country. They proceeded to the distance of 80 miles, keeping the course of the river, and at their return reported that they saw several large settlements.

with fields of corn still standing, but did not discover any of the enemy. The French prisoners that were at Fort Cumberland have been sent to Fort Frederic to serve as guides and pilots on the River St. John. They have informed the Brigadier that Boishébert was expected to be at this time at the head of that river with 500 regulars and militia and 200 savages, but that upon the approach of our armament they will retire, unless they have lately received orders from M. de Vaudreuil, Governor Gen'l of Canada to act otherwise. They add that the two privateers are above the Falls and may be easily recovered."

The privateers were the Eagle trading sloop and the Schooner Endeavour, which were surprised as they lay at anchor; Meares and Gerow were the masters, who with other seamen were sent to Quebec as prisoners.

Captain Knox introduces in his journal a curious incident that happened at Fort Cumberland, and which was doubtless very freely discussed by the officers of the garrisons at Fort Cumberland, Annapolis and Fort Frederick.

"Colonel James, of the 43d regiment, lately sustained a severe loss. His servant, who was a Frenchman, or Swiss, and had been many years a soldier in the regiment, deserted from Fort Cumberland, and took with him near 80 guineas, a fusil, a pair of silver mounted pistols, a sword mounted with the same metal and several other articles. Before he went off he communicated his intentions to the French female prisoners, who gave him full directions about the road he should take and the places it was most probable he would fall in with the enemy, for which (and perhaps other favors) the deserter rewarded them with a hat full of

silver, being dollars, fourths and eights of the same money, as he apprehended such a quantity might be too weighty for him to carry away. A large party of regulars and rangers were sent in pursuit, but did not come up with him; they took one prisoner, destroyed a large settlement and burned about 200 bushels of wheat and other provisions. Brigadier Monckton being immediately apprised of this robbery, detached a party of rangers as far as Pitscordiac [Petitcodiac] River in hopes to intercept the deserter, but they also returned without meeting him. They surprised two Frenchmen fishing, who were taken after a fruitless resistance. Upon the return of the rangers to Fort Frederic, the two prisoners were very sullen and refused to give any intelligence, but being threatened with a gibbet, they afterwards proved more open and were very serviceable. Colonel James has since recovered the greatest part of the dollars and small money, which the French women had concealed in some of their old rags in holes of the chimney and other hiding places of the apartment where they were confined."

The people of New England learned from time to time of the progress of events at the River St. John, and the amount of space devoted to the latest news from Fort Frederick by the Boston Post and other newspapers shows how general was the interest in Monckton's operations. The continuous border warfare between the people of New England and the French and Indians had aroused a spirit of bitterness which those who are not well versed in the history of this period will scarcely understand. An example of the animosity which prevailed on the side of the English will be found in the following passage in Knox's journal:

“October 27th. A sloop is returned from Fort Frederic. The master of her assures us that the Cape Sable detachment have been very successful; that they surprised 100 of the French—men, women and children, whom they made prisoners burned and destroyed all their settlements and sent their captives to Halifax to be transmitted from thence to Europe. With inconceivable pleasure we now behold the situation of affairs most happily changed in this province by the glorious success of His Majesty’s arms at Louisburg. The wretched inhabitants of this country—as well French as the aborigines—are now paying dear for all their inhuman and barbarous treatment of British subjects, and feeling the just weight of our resentment.

The *Boston Post*, in its issue of the 30th October, contains the following reference to affairs at St. John:

“Wednesday last Capt. Miller arrived here in 6 days with despatches from our forces at St. John’s River in Nova Scotia, by which we learn that Brigadier General Monckton had almost finished a strong fort, just above the entrance of that river, on the same spot where the French some years ago erected a fort, which they afterwards demolished. That the French and Indians continue to retire farther up, as our Rangers advance in their scouting, in which they have discovered several of their huts and fields, etc., which they had deserted. That a number of vessels lay ready to carry a body of our troops as far up the river as they possibly could, where ’tis said the French have a small fort, and where they have got up two vessels that were taken from the English some time ago in the Bay of Fundy, and afterwards improved as cruisers. That these troops were to proceed, as soon as Maj. Morris had joined them from

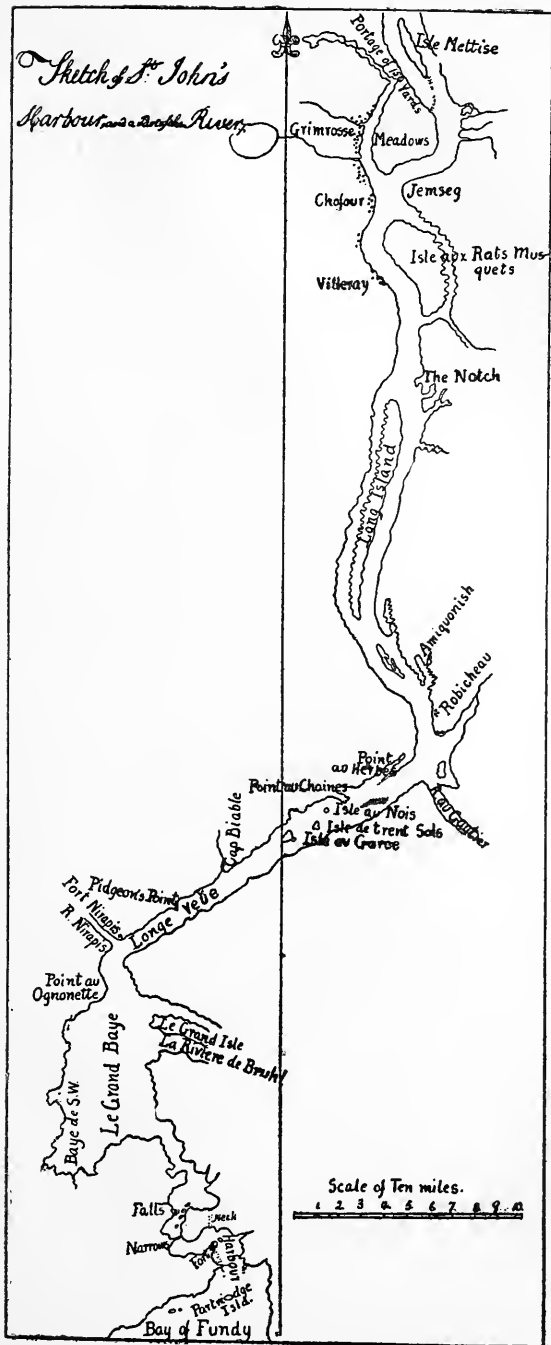
Cape Sable, from which place they had an express the 17th inst. with an account that Maj. Morris and Capt. Goreham, with a number of our forces had taken a French place called Capesse, with 70 prisoners and about 100 head of cattle; among the prisoners was a French priest, who has engaged, upon granting them idemnity, to bring in 200 more to submit themselves; and 'tis said he is accordingly gone with a party of our troops, with a flag of truce, for that purpose."

It was not till the expiration of a month from the date of his landing at St. John that Brigadier Monckton was ready to proceed up the river to destroy the French settlements, as he had been instructed to do. Even then the start was not a very auspicious one, as we learn from the entry in his journal, under date October 21st, which reads:

"Works continued. Having got together several sloops and schooners and victual'd them, I order Cobb & Rogers to pass the Falls to cover the other vessels as they might be able to get through. They accordingly get under way. Cobb being the headmost passes the Narrows [at the site of the Suspension Bridge], but is too late to get over the Falls and obliged to come too in a little cove below. The *Ulysses*, Capt. Rogers, in passing the Narrows, strikes on a rock, and is driven by the tide into a creek above Cobb, where the vessel sunk in a short time, and it was with great difficulty the Light Infantry, who were in her, and crew were saved. Upon hearing this and that Cobb did not lay very safe I ordered him down again and very luckily, for at Low Water he would have struck on the Rocks.

Most of the casks and many other articles of the ill-fated sloop of war floated towards the shore and

Sketch of St. John's  
Harbour, and a Branch of the River.



OLD PLAN OF THE RIVER ST. JOHN.

recovered, but the military stores were lost. The captain of the man-of-war "Squirrel" endeavored to raise the "Ulysses," but was obliged to abandon the attempt, and she proved a total wreck.

Having at length got his smaller vessels safely above the Falls and his troops on board, with provisions for a fortnight, Monckton embarked in Cobb's sloop "York," leaving Capt. Bellen, of the 35th Regiment, in command at the fort. The force that proceeded up the river numbered about 1,200 men.

In order to get a better idea of the progress of the expedition, the reader will do well to refer occasionally to the accompanying plan, which is a reproduction of that made by Monckton's chief surveyor.

On the morning of the 30th October the little fleet got under sail, but the wind being contrary little progress was made; indeed the ordnance sloop only escaped the fate of the *Ulysses* by casting anchor in a rather perilous position just above the falls. Next day the vessels succeeded in crossing Grand Bay and anchored off "Pointe aux Tourtres" or Pidgeons Point, about two leagues above the mouth of the Nerepis. On their way they observed the remains of the fort built by Boishébert at Woodman's Point.

On November 1, the wind being contrary, little progress was made, and in the evening the *York* anchored off an island called "Isle au Garce." Monckton landed on the island, which he describes as a very fine one, the wood, oak, beech, birch and butternut and no underwood. It was on this island, as mentioned in a previous chapter, that some traders and fishers of St. Malo built their huts and formed a small settlement about 1610 — probably the first European settlement

within the confines of New Brunswick. Here the Jesuit missionary Biard in October, 1611, held the first religious service on the St. John of which we have any distinct



ISLE EMENENIC OR CATON'S ISLAND IN LONG REACH.

record. The Indians still call the Island "Ah-men-henik," which is almost identical in sound with Biard's Emenenic, proving that the old Indian name has persisted for three hundred years.

The name "Isle au garçe," found in the accompanying plan of the river is not easy of explanation. "Garçe" may possibly be a misprint for "grâce," and the name "Isle of Grace" would be very appropriate in connection with the visit of the missionary and the religious services held in October, 1611. The word "garçe," however, may mean "girl," and in that case is suggestive of an untold story in connection with some merry maiden of the olden time. The Island is now owned by George R. Vincent. The soil is fertile and well wooded and excellent spring water is abundant; fine oaks grow there as in Monckton's day. A little cove, which may be seen in the view of the island, a little to the right of the wood-boat, affords an excellent landing place.

The plan of the river reproduced at page 227 was made by the surveyor, Samuel Holland, who accompanied Monckton in the expedition. It is of special interest on account of the peculiar intermixture of French and English names. This feature is quite in harmony with the epoch, which was one of transition. The Devil's Back was then known by its French equivalent, Cap Diable; Oak Point by its equivalent, Point au Chaines; Musquash Island as Isle aux Rats Musquets.

Monckton describes the country along the lower part of the River St. John as "verry Mountainous and Rocky," but above Belleisle comparatively flat and well timbered.

On the evening of the 2nd November the sloop "York" came to anchor under the lee of Long Island. Some of the party landed and found on the island walnuts (or butternuts) much like English walnuts.

The expedition was now approaching one of the principal Acadian settlements and Captain Benoni

Danks was sent with a party and a guide to try to take a prisoner in order, if possible, to obtain further information, but the Acadians received timely warning of their danger and abandoned their village.

Saturday, November 4th was a lamentable day for the Acadians at the village of Grimross, the site of the modern village of Gagetown. The settlers had abandoned their homes, carried their effects into the woods and driven off their cattle. Monckton landed 700 men, a party large enough in all conscience, but he thought it wise to take every precaution, not knowing what opposition he might experience. They met with not the slightest resistance. In his journal he writes :

“It being late in the day I gave orders for burning the houses and barns, being in all about 50, and for destroying all the grain, of which there was a good deal, and everything else that could be of the least service to the inhabitants hereafter. Having burnt and destroyed everything we marched back and re-embarked. As we were disembarking in the morning some canoes were seen crossing the head of Grimrose River [Gagetown Creek], and near where we landed there had lately been some birch canoes made. Much cleared land here. Fine country. This village was settled by the inhabitants of Beauséjour, when drove off from thence in 1755.”

The expedition proceeded a little further when the “York” got around, and several of the transports had a similar experience. Monckton was forced to give up the idea of proceeding to St. Ann’s on account of the shoalness of the water and the lateness of the season. He therefore determined to return and destroy everything he could on his way down the river. The surrounding

country was scoured by McCurdy's rangers, who succeeded in killing some cattle, but took no prisoners. Danks' and Brewer's rangers burned a number of houses at Upper Gagetown. As they were returning from their raid, they came across some Frenchmen who were driving off about forty head of cattle. Most of the cattle were destroyed, but the Acadians made their escape. Capt. McCurdy was sent across the river to the Jemseg to destroy all the houses and grain that he might find there, and to kill the cattle, and these orders were duly obeyed. Monckton burnt the little settlement called Villeray's (about three miles below Gagetown), and, as he came down the river, sent a small party to burn the settlement of the Sieur de Belleisle and his sons-in-law, the brothers Robicheaux, just above Belleisle Bay. On the 8th November, after an absence of ten days he arrived at the place above the Falls where the troops had embarked.

The people of Boston learned of the general results of the expedition by a transport ship which arrived from the River St. John on the 24th November with some of the troops belonging to the train of the artillery. A summary of the news as printed in the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* states that Col. Monckton had proceeded as far up the river as he possibly could; that he killed between 30 and 40 head of cattle, eight or ten horses, and a number of hogs, sheep, etc.; that he burnt all the houses, barns, huts, grain, etc., for twenty leagues up the river and that Capt. Cobb had taken a sloop and a schooner, besides a number of prisoners.

General Monckton was not very much elated at his success, for a few days after his return he wrote to Lieut. Governor de Lancey, of New York :

“I am sorry I can’t give you a better account of our proceedings up this river. But it was attended with so many unavoidable delays and impediments that we were only able to go up about 23 leagues, which is above ten leagues short of St. Annes — where, if we had been able to have reached, it is by very certain accounts of no consequence, being only a village and not the least signs of a fort.

“We burnt one village and some straggling houses and destroyed everything that could be the least serviceable to them, so that I should think they will in the spring be obliged to return to Canada. The River, after passing the Falls, is as fine a river as ever I saw, and when you get up about ten leagues the country is level, with fine woods of oak, beech, birch and walnut, and no underwood, and the land able to produce anything. We have just finished a pretty good fort here, where the old French Fort stood, which will be a footing for anything that may be thought proper to be undertaken hereafter.”

In declaring his admiration of the Saint John, General Monckton was only following in the wake of his predecessors who had visited the river. His admiration was shared by his associates, for one of his officers, Captain Ince of the 35th regiment, afterwards spoke of it to Capt. Knox “with great rapture and praises.” Captain Ince in his passage up and down was engaged in making soundings and in surveying the river. “This agreeable gentleman,” says Capt. Knox, “promised me a sight of his observations and remarks, which he had reduced to writing, but not being able then to get at his papers (as he had not yet opened his baggage), and we being both unsettled, I lost that satisfaction. I remember I asked

him how it came to pass that the *Ulysses* sloop of war was lost in sailing upwards? To this he replied that fault, if any, lay in the pilot and not in the navigation, and that this loss was merely accidental.

While Monckton was absent three hundred men had been steadily at work on the fort, so that it must have been nearly finished when he returned. To assist in its construction lumber, iron work, a forge and bellows, tools and several blacksmiths and carpenters were brought from Annapolis. The fort was called Fort Frederick, in honor of one of the princes of the House of Brunswick.

The last of the vessels returned from up the river on the 11th of November, and Monckton at once took steps to distribute his troops among the garrisons at Fort Cumberland, Windsor, Annapolis and Halifax.

There arrived at Annapolis from Fort Frederick about this time, a hospital ship with sick men and a small schooner with convalescents belonging to the 35th regiment, which shows that the toil and exposure endured by the troops had its attendant casualties. Capt. Knox a few days later makes the following interesting entry in his journal:

“November 23rd—Five companies of the 35th regiment arrived to-day. The other half of the regiment is stationed between Fort Frederick and Fort Edward (Windsor), three companies at the former of these places and two at the latter. The battalion of Royal Americans that was employed with the 35th are sailed under Brigadier Monckton of Halifax. The rangers are cantoned throughout the province as usual, and the light infantry, which were composed of chosen men from the different regiments are returned to their respective

corps. We have the pleasure of meeting with some old acquaintances among the officers of this new garrison who inform us that when Brigadier Monckton and the forces were landing at St. John's a body of 200 Indians, who have always inhabited the banks of that river, lay in ambush on the top of a cape or headland, which commands the place of disembarkation; that they were very eager to fire upon our troops, but were prevented by some of their sachems, or chiefs, who told them that if they proposed making peace with the English, which in the present situation of affairs they earnestly exhorted them to think of, this would be a bad way to effect it. Upon this advice they retired, and proceeded up the country to consult with their good friends the French, to whom they imparted their intentions of burying the hatchet and brightening the chain [of friendship] with the British governor; but an ignorant priest, disapproving their conduct, scolded and abused them for not endeavoring to oppose the landing of the forces, diverted them from their pacific intentions and decoyed them to escort and accompany him to Canada. This intelligence was received from some prisoners they took in their expedition up that river, where they found the two trading vessels of which the enemy had possessed themselves some months ago. In the course of this service several settlements were destroyed, about forty captives were made, and almost a hundred head of black cattle killed. This armament did not proceed to the head of St. John's River, for the frost setting in earlier than usual and with greater severity they were apprehensive of being frozen up, and therefore returned to the fort, which they found completed for the reception of its new garrison."

Many of the Acadians on the St. John retired to Quebec upon the destruction of their settlements by the English. The Marquis de Vaudreuil mentions their arrival in a letter to the French minister. Some of the Acadians however, who lived at the village of St. Anne's, remained, vainly trusting that they were sufficiently remote to escape molestation.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was keenly interested in the course of events on the St. John, although his forces were too small to repel the invaders. He wrote to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs that a French-Canadian, who had lately escaped from confinement at Fort Frederick at the mouth of the River St. John, described the English fort as exactly the same size of the old fort, but much stronger. The embankment was at least ten feet in thickness and surmounted by palisades ten feet high in the form of *Chevaux de frise*. The Frenchman had counted eighteen cannons of 18 L. calibre, and the English had told him they expected to mount in all thirty cannons of 20 L. and of 18 L.

A very interesting plan of Fort Frederick and its surroundings, made by Rocque in 1763, is here reproduced on a slightly reduced scale. The situation and outline of the bastions are clearly shown, also the contour of the shore and other topographical features. Upon comparing the plan with a modern map of Carleton, we find the site of the huts occupied by the Massachusetts Rangers to have been a little west of the Market Place, near the south line of what is now King Street. The star fort marked B, near the site of St. George's church, was never built, nor were any of the block houses erected except those marked with the letter C, one of which occupied the high ground near Uriah



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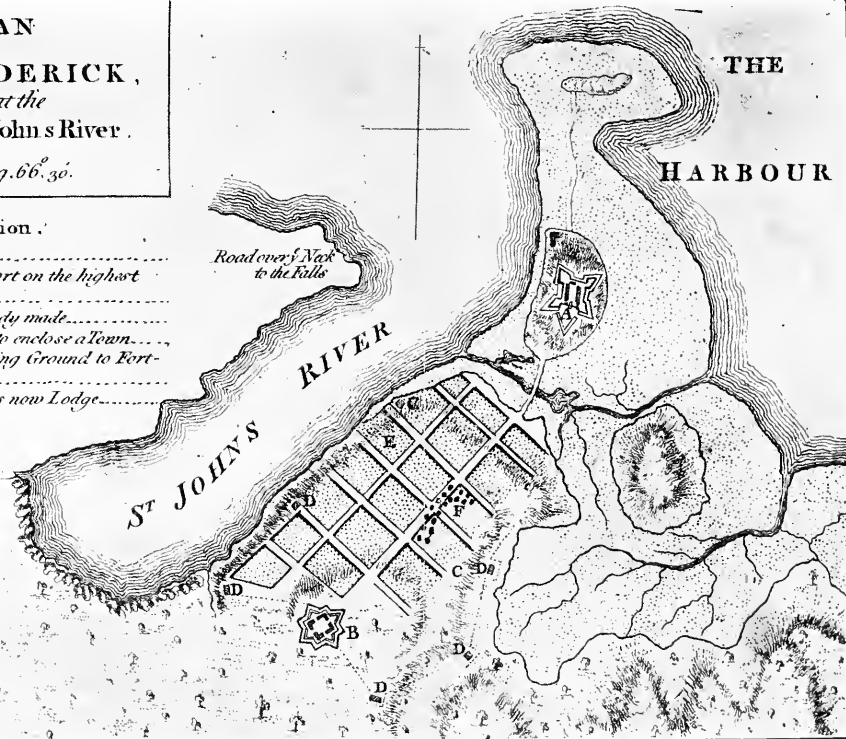
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**A PLAN**  
*of*  
**FORT FREDERICK,**  
*Situated at the*  
**Entrance of St John's River.**

*L. at. 47°. Long. 66°. 30'.*

**Explanation.**

- A Fort Frederick.....
- B Projected for a Star Fort on the highest  
 Commanding Ground.....
- C Two Block houses already made.....
- D Projected Block houses to enclose a Town.....
- E The Nearest Commanding Ground to Fort-  
 Frederick.....
- F Huts where the Rangers now Lodge.....

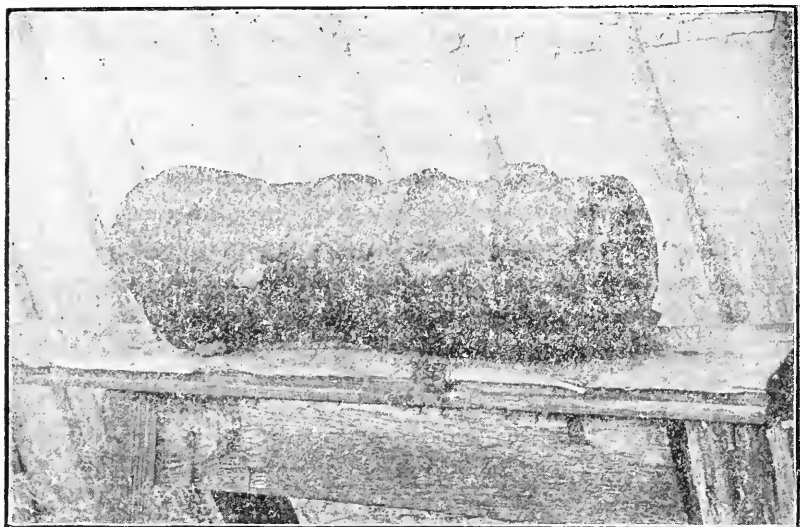




Drake's residence on Water Street, where a number of relics have from time to time been dug up; the other stood near the corner of Ludlow and Guilford Streets. The streets marked on the plan are of course merely ideal, and at that time had no existence. Fort Frederick could not comfortably accommodate so large a garrison as that which wintered there in 1758-9. The erection of huts for the rangers was consequently a matter of necessity. The use of the huts was afterwards continued, although the garrison was reduced considerably after the first year. The fort site was rather small, and the space required for the magazine, garrison stores and officers' barracks, was such as to leave little freedom of movement for the men. The surrounding country being practically a wilderness, there was little likelihood of desertion, or of the soldiers being out of their quarters after gun-fire. A glance at the plan shows that the fort was separated from the mainland at low tide by a small creek, and at high water was in every respect an island; this was an inconvenience. A greater one was the lack of drinking water. Complaints on this head go back at least to the time of Governor Villebon's residence.

It has already been stated that Boishébert, on the arrival of Capt. Rous in 1755, blew up his magazine, burst his cannon and retired up the river; and it is worth mentioning in this connection that a few years ago some workmen who were laying down a sewer at the old fort site dug up a fragment of a very old cannon of small calibre. It was hooped with iron to give it additional strength, and is in all probability a fragment of one of the guns destroyed by Boishébert. It may, however, have been considerably older than this, for its workmanship shows it to have been one of those forged pieces of

ordnance common in the early part of the sixteenth century but which were mostly replaced in the seventeenth century by cast metal guns. The old gun of which this is a fragment may very probably be as old as the days of la Tour. Many gun fragments were doubtless buried in the earth dumped upon the



FRAGMENT OF AN OLD FRENCH CANNON.

spot by Monckton's soldiers in the construction of the earthworks of Fort Frederick. When the foot of King Street, in Carleton, was being graded, about twenty-five years ago, the workmen came upon an old graveyard, presumably the garrison burial ground, long used by the French and English. About the same time, or a little earlier, a number of relics were dug up on the old fort site on Middle Street.

## CHAPTER XII.

Major Morris in Charge of Fort Frederick — His Distinguished Military Career — Destruction of St. Anne's by Lieut. Hazen — An Interesting Diary — The Dispossession and Deportation of Acadians From the River St. John — Treaties Made With the Indians — Indian Truck-House at Fort Frederick.



**A**FTER the return of the expedition from up the St. John river, General Monckton stayed at Fort Frederick until the 21st of November, when finding the fortifications and barracks complete and winter at hand, he sailed to Halifax. Three companies of the 35th Regiment and a detachment of artillery were ordered to remain at the fort; and the fuel for the garrison not having been laid in, McCurdy's, Stark's and Brewer's companies of the Massachusetts Rangers were left behind as wood-cutters. Monckton's instructions to Major Morris were that Capt. McCurdy's company should hut and remain for the winter, the other two, after completing the wood supply, to proceed to Halifax in the vessels which he left for their transport.

The garrison at St. John comprised about 300 men. The commanding officer, Major Roger Morris, had a distinguished military career. He was born in England, January 28th, 1717. In 1755 he was a captain in the 48th Regiment and an aide-de-camp to General Braddock. In the disastrous encounter with the French near Fort du Quesne, Braddock, after having five horses killed under him, was mortally wounded; his two aide-de-

camps, Orme and Morris, were also wounded, and his extra aide-de-camp, George Washington, had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places. Early in 1758, Roger Morris exchanged into the 35th Regiment, in which he served under Colonel Otway at the siege of Louisburg, and afterwards with Brigadier Monckton at the River St. John. He was left in command of Fort Frederick during the winter of 1758-9. The next year he was with Wolfe at the capture of Quebec, and rendered efficient service a little later at the battle of Sillery. When he retired from the army in 1764 he was a lieutenant-colonel. He went to New York and was appointed a member of the Executive Council of the province.

The year of the occupation of the River St. John was an eventful one for Major Morris. Shortly before the siege of Louisburg he married Mary Philipse, of New York, a lady renowned for her beauty and accomplishments, and who is believed to have refused an offer of marriage from no less a personage than George Washington. Her sister, Susannah Philipse, married Colonel Beverley Robinson. During the American Revolution the State of New York passed an act by which fifty-nine individuals were proscribed and banished, and their estates forfeited to the people of the State. This list included the names of Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity church, New York, and Margaret, his wife; Colonel Roger Morris and Mary, his wife; Colonel Beverley Robinson and Susannah, his wife. The ladies mentioned are the only women known to have been attainted for treason by any of the States. They, in common with their husbands, were declared to be forever banished and in case of return to be adjudged and

declared guilty of felony and to suffer death. The crime laid to the charge of the unfortunate ladies was that of adhering to the enemies of the States, that is to say of not abandoning their husbands. The real motive of the vindictive New York legislature was to get possession of their estates, That of Mary (Philipse) Morris eventually passed into the hands of the Astor family, and was to a considerable extent the foundation of their fortunes. Mrs. Morris survived her husband, and died at York, in England, in 1825, at the age of 95 years.

Returning from this digression, we proceed again to consider the progress of events on the River St. John.

Sir Wm. Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, in his correspondence with the Governor of Nova Scotia, had repeatedly urged the necessity of taking possession of and fortifying the River St. John and of dislodging the Acadians from their settlement at St. Anne's. Part of the programme had now been carried out by the erection of Fort Frederick. The dispossessing of the French at St. Anne's remained to be done.

Monckton, although unable himself to get to St. Anne's, had ascertained that it was only a defenceless village.

After the winter season had fairly set in, a party of the rangers from Fort Frederick, under Captain McCurdy, set out on snow-shoes to reconnoitre the country and to ascertain the state of the French settlements up the river. The first night after their departure they encamped at Kingston Creek, not far from the Belleisle, on a very steep hillside. That night poor McCurdy lost his life by the falling of a large birch tree, which one of the rangers cut down on the hillside for fuel — the tree came thundering down the mountain and killed

the Captain instantly. His lieutenant, Moses Hazen, succeeded to the command, and not long afterwards went with a party up the river to St. Anne's Point, where they found quite a town. They set fire to the chapel and other buildings and then retired committing several atrocities upon the unfortunates who fell in their way. This sad story is confirmed from a variety of sources. General Amherst states in his letter to William Pitt of April 19, 1759 :

"I have lately received a report from Major Morris, commanding at Fort Frederick, on the St. John's River, in the Bay of Fundy, that Capt. McCurdy, commanding the ranging company there was, when on a scout, killed by the fall of a tree. Lieut. Hazen afterwards marched with a party up the River St. John's on the 19th of February; went up higher than St. Ann's, burnt and destroyed the village, took six prisoners, killed six and five made their escape; he returned to the fort on the 5th of March with his prisoners and without the loss of a man. One of the prisoners, whose name is Beauséjour, has a commission from Monsieur de Galissonnière, issued in 1749, as major of militia for the River St. John. By the intelligence it appears that the chief part of the inhabitants belonging to this river went to Canada last fall \* \* \* \* on Brigadier Monckton's taking post at St. John's; and now that Lieut. Hazen has burnt upwards of a hundred buildings, killed the cattle and destroyed the premises, it will not be possible for the enemy to take any hold there."

A few weeks later General Amherst writes, "Major Morris sent me particulars of the scouting party and I gave a commission of Captain to Lieut. Hazen, as I thought he deserved it; I am sorry to say what I have

since heard of that affair has sullied his merit with me, as I shall always disapprove of killing women and helpless children. Poor McCurdy is a loss, he was a good man in his post."

It would seem from one of the despatches of the Marquis de Vaudreuil that the tragic event to which General Amherst refers took place on Sunday, the 28th of February, on which occasion, Vaudreuil says, the New England troops killed two women and four children, whose scalps they carried off.

News of the destruction of St. Anne's reached Annapolis not long after its occurrence, for Captain John Knox writes in his journal that the captain of a company of rangers in the garrison received a letter from Lieutenant Butler of the garrison at Fort Frederick, written on the 6th of March, which contained the following intelligence: "Captain McCurdy was killed by the falling of a tree on the 30th of January. Lieut. Hazen commands at present, who returned last night from a scout up the river. He marched from this fort the 18th February and went to St. Anne's: the whole of inhabitants being gone off; he burned one hundred and forty-seven dwelling houses, two mass houses, besides all their barns, stables, granaries, etc. He returned down the river where he found a house in a thick forest, with a number of cattle, horses and hogs; these he destroyed. There was a fire in the chimney; the people were gone off into the woods; he pursued, killed and scalped six men, brought in four, with two women and three children; he returned to the house, set it on fire, threw the cattle into the flames and arrived safe with his prisoners he and the party all well."

Joseph Bellefontaine (or Beauséjour), who is mentioned as having been made a prisoner by Captain Hazen, was one of the oldest inhabitants on the river. After his release from imprisonment he went to live at Cherbourg in France. He obtained a pension of 300 livres on account of his losses and services. The minute with regard to his application for a pension states :

“The Sieur Joseph Bellefontaine (or Beauséjour) of the River St. John, son of Gabriel, an officer of the King's ships in Canada and of Angelique Roberte-Jeanne, was major of all the militia of the River St. John by order M. de la Galissonniere, of the 10th April, 1749, and always exercised his function during the war until he was captured by the enemy. He possessed several leagues of land in that quarter, and while he lived there experienced the grief of beholding one of his daughters and three of her children massacred before his eyes by the English, who wished by this piece of cruelty to induce him to take their part in order to escape similar treatment. He only escaped such a fate by his flight into the woods, carrying along with him two other children of the same daughter.”

The young mother so ruthlessly slain was Nastasie Bellefontaine, wife of Eustache Pare. Other victims at this time were the wife and child of Michael Bellefontaine, son of Major Joseph Bellefontaine. This poor fellow says he had the anguish of seeing his wife and boy killed before his eyes on his refusal to side with the enemy. One more reference to the barbarity of Hazen's soldiers is found in Rev. Jacob Bailey's journal. This gentleman, while travelling, had occasion to lodge at Norwood's Inn, Lynn, Massachusetts, on a night in December, 1759, and, speaking of the company he found

there, says ; “ We had among us a soldier belonging to Captain Hazen’s company of Rangers, who declared that several Frenchmen were barbarously murdered by them, after quarters were given, and the villain added, I suppose to show his importance, that he split the head of one asunder, after he fell on his knees to implore mercy. A specimen of New England clemency ! ”

It may well be doubted whether this tragedy of the wilderness was enacted in Lieutenant’s Hazen’s presence or with his consent. It was probably an exemplification of the words of Captain Murray, written at the time of the Expulsion of the Acadians ; “ Our soldiers, you know, hate them, and if they can find an occasion to kill them, they will. ”

In the American Revolution Moses Hazen was a “ rebel.” He raised a battalion known as “ Hazen’s Own,” and rose to the rank of major-general. His younger brother, William, one of the founders of St. John and a member of the first Executive Council of New Brunswick, was thoroughly loyal to the Crown.

In consequence of this mid-winter foray St. Anne’s was left in a state of desolation. Moses Perley says that when the advance party of the Manguerville colony arrived there in 1762, they found the whole river front, of what is now the city of Fredericton, cleared for about ten rods back from the bank and they saw the blackened remains of a considerable settlement. The houses had been burned, and the cultivated land was fast relapsing into a wilderness state. In this condition the place remained until the arrival of the Loyalists. It is a curious circumstance that many of the men of Massachusetts, who were concerned in the expulsion of the Acadians, were afterwards instrumental in the

banishment of the American Loyalists, whom they drove out as exiles to settle the lands once occupied by the Acadians.

An interesting incident connected with the period of French occupation was related many years ago by the grandmother of the late Judge Fisher to one of her descendants. The good old lady arrived at St. Annes in October, 1783. Not many months after there was such a scarcity of provisions that the unfortunate settlers, in some cases, were obliged to dig up the potatoes they had planted and eat them. As the season advanced they were cheered by the discovery of large patches of pure white beans, marked with a black cross, that had been planted by the French and were growing wild. In their joy at this fortunate discovery the settlers called them "the staff of life and the hope of the starving."

Glimpses of the course of events at Fort Frederick during the next few years will be found in the correspondence of the governors of Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. We have also interesting information in the quaintly written diary of John Burrell, lately published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Burrell belonged to Abington, Mass., and was a sergeant in Captain Moses Parker's company at Fort Frederick in 1759. The commandant of the garrison was Colonel Arbuthnot. Among the officers were Commissary Henry Green, Captains Parker and Gerrish, Lieutenants Hutchins, Clapp, Deming and Foster, and Ensigns Pike and Tirrell. The garrison included about two hundred Massachusetts troops.

The period covered by Sergeant Burrell's diary begins with the 3rd of August, 1759, and ends with the 23rd of July, 1760. Some of the incidents he has recorded

may appear trivial, but they were such as served to break the monotony of life in the wilderness. As specimens, we will take the following:

"Thursday 30 August we kild a Bare a swimming acrost ye River."

"Sonday 30th September a white Moos came Down on ye Pint and we fired on it."

"Wednesday 17th October, A Cold Storm and it snowed a little ye wind blue."

"Tuesday ye 1st day of ye year 1760, three Indians fell over Bord & Drowned, one leetle Boye got a shoare."

"Wednesday ye 16th [Jan'y] Reseved a letter from my wif date July ye 15th, 1759."

"Tusday ye 22d Day of Janawary, 1760, Between 10 & 11 o'clock at night a Commett was seen to fall in ye north west & a noyes was heard like to 3 cannon Destink."

"Fryday ye 18th maid a vitualing Role and all ye soldiers were reviewed to Day."

"Thirsdays ye 21 [February] our Capt. Parker went up to Bobares Fort a fishing."

"Fryday ye 29 Leape yeare 1760."

"Sonday ye 23d [March] a Snow Storm, we all Received 4 pds. Bounty of Col. Arbuthnott."

"Tusday ye 22d [April] finished 30 thou. of shingles."

"Fryday ye 6th [June] Capt. Hart Casel come & we finished off 63 thousand of H shingles & ye Col. paid us 173-5."

"Sonday ye 8th Rote a Leater home."

"Tusday ye 10th Delivered to Capt. Moses Curtiss one Doble Loon for to convey ye same to my wife at Abington."

These entries are very suggestive of the isolation and monotony of garrison life at Fort Frederick. The bear and moose and other wild creatures roamed freely in the surrounding forest. Indians visited the fort, and the accident on New Year's day, by which three were drowned and one "leetle Boye" escaped, looks as if they had been "celebrating" the day. The isolation of the garrison is shown by the fact that the sergeant did not receive his wife's letter till six months after it was written. To pass the time and to earn a few extra shillings, the men made some thousands of shaven pine shingles.

Burrell's observations, it will be seen from the extracts, were zoological, meterological, and astronomical—animals, weather and meteoric explosion alike commanding his attention. The doubloon that he sent to his wife was a Spanish gold piece, much in use at that time in Nova Scotia and New England. Its value was equivalent to about \$15.50. The fishing excursion made by Captain Parker to "Bobare's Fort" in the month of February, shows that mid-winter fishing in the Long Reach is by no means a modern pastime.

But there are matters of greater import in Burrell's diary than these. He relates that on the 11th of August, 1759, Colonel Arbuthnot, Captain Gerrish, Lieutenants Hutchins, Clapp, Deming and Foster, with seventy-five men, went up the river in quest of the French, returning a few days later with two schooners they had captured and a great deal of plunder. The garrison had a "frollek" in honor of the event. The plunder was sold at the fort by vendue. A second expedition of a similar kind turned out disastrously. It seems that in spite of the efforts of Monckton and Hazen

to dispossess the Acadians, they had not entirely withdrawn from the river, but remained in seclusion at various places above and below St. Anne's. There was quite a large settlement on the Oromocto River and there were other locations where they yet lingered. Information as to these localities was no doubt brought to the commandant, and the success of the first raid led him to plan another. Accordingly, on the night of the 5th of September he proceeded up the river with a party of two captains, three lieutenants, two ensigns and about eighty-five men. On the 8th, as they were exploring a small creek, they were fired on by the French, who lay in ambush. Ensign Tirrell and four men were killed and Lieut. Foster and seven others wounded, three of them so seriously that they died after their return to the fort. The casualties were all in Captain Parker's company, except one in Captain Gerrish's. Dr. Ganong is inclined to think this encounter took place near French Lake, on the Oromocto River, where local tradition says the French fought the English.

The ramparts of Fort Frederick were seriously damaged by the storm of the 3rd-4th November, 1759. This storm was the most violent that had, till then, been known, and must have rivalled the famous "Saxby gale" of 1869. The tide rose to a height of six feet above the ordinary, and great rollers, driven by the storm, battered down the exposed terraces of the fort. The gale levelled the forest near the coast and broke down the dykes at the head of the Bay, flooding the lands reclaimed by the Acadians. Not only was a considerable portion of the earthwork of Fort Frederick washed away, but the store-house was demolished by the wind and tide, and some of the provisions swept into

the sea. The damage was so extensive that Lieut. Tonge was sent from Fort Cumberland with a party of engineers to make repairs. He found it impossible with the means at his command to entirely repair the havoc the storm had wrought, but he strengthened the defences as best he could, and planted a strong line of palisades about the fort.

On the 18th October (just a month after the event) the garrison learned of the surrender of Quebec. The news was brought by three Frenchmen, who came to the fort under a flag of truce. They were the bearers of a proposal from about two hundred of their compatriots to submit to the British government. They desired permission to remain upon their lands on promise of fidelity to the King of England. Colonel Arbuthnot made answer that they must all come down to the fort and remain until he could communicate with the authorities at Halifax. The Colonel made a hasty trip to Annapolis to obtain a small vessel and some assistance. On his return he went up the river with two captains, three lieutenants, one ensign, the surgeon and eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and men. On the 4th November Lieut. Hutchins returned in his batteau to the fort and announced that the French were all coming in as fast as they could. The following day a single family arrived, and two days later Colonel Arbuthnot arrived with thirty families in charge. A few others came in afterwards of their own accord.

The news of the downfall of Quebec had a marked effect upon the Indians, who now professed friendship and came into the garrison in considerable numbers. They were well treated and received allowances of provisions.

The Acadians quartered at Fort Frederick were a forlorn little community. Whether they were residents who had lingered in their retreats on the St. John, or people lately come from Quebec, is not quite clear. They were mostly fugitives who wished to return to their loved Acadia. They had exhausted their resources and were in no state to return to the woods, where they would have died of hunger. They produced letters from Gen'l Monckton and Judge Cramahé recommending them to protection. Governor Lawrence decided that the letters had been obtained through misrepresentation, and ordered them to be sent to Halifax as prisoners. The action of Lawrence was endorsed by Amberst, who wrote: "The pass you mention the two hundred inhabitants of St. John's River to have from Mr. Monckton, was by no means meant or understood to give the French any right to those lands; and you have done perfectly right not to suffer them to continue there, and you will be equally right in sending them, when an opportunity offers, to Europe as Prisoners of War."

The deportation at so late a period as this of two hundred people from the valley of the St. John is an incident of some importance. Not long afterwards the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia assembled at Halifax to consider the case of the Acadians at Fort Frederick. Their decision was "That His Excellency do take the earliest opportunity of hiring vessels for having them immediately transported to Halifax as prisoners of war, until they can be sent to England; and that the two Priests be likewise removed out of the Province." Vessels were accordingly sent from Halifax, and these hapless people, after a sojourn of twelve weeks at the fort, were put on board. Burrell's reference to their deportation in his diary is very meagre:

“Sonday ye 27 [January] our Col. went a Bord in order for Halifax with part of ye french men. Monday ye 28th, ye women & children went a Bord this day. Tusday ye 29th they set sail.”

The vessels arrived at Halifax about the 11th of February. Colonel Arbuthnot was accompanied by some Indian chiefs who desired to make a treaty with the Governor of Nova Scotia. The chiefs appeared before the Governor and Council with an interpreter, and, after full discussion, came to an agreement and signed a treaty based on the treaties made in 1725 and 1749, with an additional engagement on behalf of the Indians not to aid the enemies of the English, and to confine their trade to the truck-house, which it was proposed to establish at Fort Frederick. It was agreed that the treaty should be prepared in French and English, that the chiefs should be sent back in a vessel to St. John, and that Colonel Arbuthnot should go to Passamaquoddy, to have the treaty ratified by the Indians there. On the 23rd of February the treaty was signed by Michel Neptune for the Passamaquoddy tribe and by Ballomy Glode for the St. John River Indians. It was agreed by the Indians to leave three of each tribe at Fort Frederick as hostages to ensure adherence to the articles of peace.

Colonel Arbuthnot returned to Fort Frederick on the 12th of March. On the 17th he sailed in Capt. Cobb's sloop, with Captain Parker and the Indian chiefs, to Passamaquoddy to ratify the treaty, returning to Fort Frederick on the 20th.

Lawrence and his council regarded this treaty as an important matter. Only four years before the dread inspired by the Indians was so great that the Nova

Scotia authorities had offered a reward of £30 for every Indian warrior brought in alive, £25 for the scalp of every male Indian above the age of sixteen, and £25 for every woman and child brought in alive, the rewards to be paid at any of His Majesty's forts by the commanding officer.

The Indians of the River St. John were long regarded by the English as the most powerful and warlike tribe of Acadia and the Governors of Nova Scotia endeavored from time to time to gain their good-will. In the year 1732, Lieut. Governor Armstrong of Nova Scotia sent Paul Mascarene to Boston to treat with Governor Belcher about the erection of a "truck-house" for the Indian trade on the Saint John, and Mascarene was instructed to recommend the lands on the St. John to the people of Massachusetts as a very desirable place of settlement. Belcher expressed the opinion that unless the crown would build a fort at the mouth of the river, the "truck-house" project would fail, but in case of its erection Massachusetts would probably send a sloop with goods to the Indians Spring and Fall. However the idea of an English post at St. John remained in abeyance until after the surrender of Beauséjour.

The Maliseets of the St. John were naturally disposed to resent the intrusion of the whites on their hunting grounds, and the French encouraged this sentiment in order that the savages should oppose any settlement on the part of the English. In the year 1735, Francis Germaine, "chief of Ockpaque," with one of his captains came to Annapolis Royal to complain of the conduct of some English surveyors, whom they regarded as trespassers on their lands. They missed seeing the governor, but he wrote them a very friendly

letter, assuring them of his favor and protection. This, however, did not satisfy the Indians, for a few months afterwards they interfered with the loading of a vessel that had been sent to St. John for limestone by the ordnance storekeeper at Annapolis, and robbed the sailors of their clothes and provisions, claiming that the lands and quarries belonged to them.

During the session of the House of Assembly held at Halifax in the winter of 1759-60, Governor Lawrence urged the House to make provision for the establishment of "truck-houses" for the Indians; he also recommended legislation for the purpose of preventing private trade with them, and the Assembly passed an act for that purpose. The Governor in transmitting the act to England for approval explains that one of the chief articles in all treaties with the natives is that of commerce, on which the fur trade depends. That he had taken particular care to convince the Indians that they would find trade with the English far more profitable than with the French, since they would not only receive a higher price for their furs but would obtain the commodities they needed for themselves at a much cheaper rate. The trade should be confined to the truck-houses established by the Government so as to make sure that the Indians would be dealt with on fair terms and none of the fraud be practised which had on several parts of the continent been a not infrequent cause of bloodshed. This opinion was a little later endorsed by Jonathan Belcher, Lawrence's successor, who feared that if the act were not allowed there would be many little traders who would have so little regard for their reputation as to make the Indians drunk and take from them more than they had any right to..

The Indians would then be prompted to revenge themselves in their own fashion, and so the province would be embroiled in mischiefs which would be prevented by confining the trade to public truck-houses established under government control.

Under the treaty made with the Indians there was a tariff of prices both for buying and selling. The unit of value was a pound of the fur of the spring beaver, commonly known as "one beaver," equivalent in value to a dollar, or five shillings. Under this tariff the following articles were sold to the Indians at the following prices: Large blanket, 2 "beavers"; 2 yards stroud, 3 "beavers"; 14 pounds pork, 1 "beaver"; 30 pounds flour, 1 "beaver";  $2\frac{1}{2}$  gallons molasses, 1 "beaver"; 2 gallons rum, 1 "beaver"; and other articles in proportion.

Furs and skins sold by the Indians at the "truck-house" were to be valued by the same standard: Moose skin,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  "beavers"; bear skin  $1\frac{1}{3}$  "beavers"; 3 sable skins, 1 "beaver"; 6 mink skins, 1 "beaver"; 10 ermine skins, 1 "beaver"; silver fox skin,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  "beavers," and so on for furs and skins of all descriptions. By substituting the cash value of 5 shillings for the value of a "beaver," we obtain figures that would surely amaze the modern furrier and prove eminently satisfactory to the purchaser, for example; bear skin (large and good), \$1.35; moose skin (large), \$1.50; luciffee (large), \$2.00; silver fox, \$2.50; black fox, \$2.00; red fox, 50cts.; otter, \$1.00; mink, 15 cts.; musquash, 10 cts. And yet these prices, ridiculously low as they now appear, were better than the Indians had received from the French traders.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Henry Green, Commissary at Fort Frederick — Desertion's from the Garrison — Father Germain Detained at Quebec — Acadians Plead for Consideration — Lawrence's Proclamations — Lands Reserved for Disbanded Troops — Pioneer English Settlers on the St. John.



**W**HATEVER may be said as to the humanity of Governor Lawrence in connection with the Acadian expulsion, there can be no doubt that so far as the development of the province of Nova Scotia was concerned he was a most energetic and capable administrator. After the reduction of Quebec, in the fall of 1759, he at once actively interested himself in the introduction of English speaking settlers from the colonies to the westward, and as he considered that these settlers could not inhabit the country unless peace were made with the savages, he induced the various tribes of the Maliseets and Micmacs to enter into negotiations, and offered them considerable inducements to live in peace and engage in trade with the English at the truck-houses established by him for the purpose. The first of the tribes that came to treat with the Governor were those of Passamaquoddy and the River St. John. It was felt that concluding peace with them was absolutely necessary to the progress and development of the country, and accordingly a tariff of prices more advantageous than any they had had with the French was agreed upon with the idea of familiarizing them with the language, manners and customs of their

new masters. As it had always been customary to make presents to the sachems and their followers when treaties were signed, the government was under the necessity of making presents to the several tribes as they came in. The first with whom Governor Lawrence actually concluded a treaty were the Indians of the St. John River. Lawrence's successor, Montagu Wilmot, describes these Indians as by far the most warlike in the Province, claiming a considerable share of integrity and hence assuming a great superiority over the other tribes. Being the first to enter into negotiations with the English they were well treated, and went away quite satisfied with the Governor's liberality.

Six truck-houses were now established at various places by Governor Lawrence, but by far the most considerable was that at Fort Frederick. The trade here equalled the combined trade of all the other posts. The arrangements made by the Indian delegates who went to Halifax with Col. Arbuthnot were concurred in by their tribes and their captains began to come in from various quarters to accept the terms of the treaty; this we learn from Burrell's journal.

The crowning event occurred on the 28th June, when "ye Grate King of ye Indians Came into ye Garrison for to make a Grate peace with ye English."

Henry Green, who was commissary at Fort Frederick, was appointed master of the Indian truck-house with a modest salary of five shillings a day. The success that attended the establishment of the trading post is seen in the fact that about four months afterwards Commissary Green shipped to Halifax a parcel of furs valued at £1,109. Supplies were sent to him in Capt. Doggett's vessel in July, 1760, amounting in value to £2,672

and in the following year a further consignment was received valued at £3,765. The Indian trade speedily assumed large proportions, but the act of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly confining the business to officers appointed by the government was disapproved by the Home government who deemed it "an improper and unreasonable restraint upon trade." Their objection found expression in the proclamation of George III., at the Court of St. James, Oct. 7, 1763 :

"We do by the advice of our privy council declare and enjoin that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever, provided that every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians do take out a license for carrying on such trade from the governor or commander-in-chief of any of our colonies where such person shall reside, and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall at any time think fit to direct or appoint."

Colonel Arbuthnot informed the Governor that the Indians behaved well and came to the fort to trade.

Unlooked for trouble now developed within the garrison at Fort Frederick. The New England troops it seems claimed that they ought to be relieved, their period of enlistment having expired and the crisis of the war being over. But the insecurity of General Monckton at Quebec and of Amherst at Crown Point rendered it difficult to provide soldiers for the garrisons of Nova Scotia. The Massachusetts legislature accordingly took the bold step of extending the period of enlistment of the troops from their colony. They promised, as an offset, to provide the men with beds and other comforts during the approaching winter. But the men were not to be persuaded. The situation became

critical, and Governor Pownell wrote to Governor Lawrence :

“I find our people, who are doing duty in your garrison, notwithstanding the favor and attention this province has shown them for continuing their services through the winter — have worked themselves up to such a temper of dissatisfaction that they have long ago threatened to come off, if not relieved.”

Nor was the threat meaningless, for the Governor adds that already “seventy men in one schooner and about eighty in another have openly come off from Fort Frederick at St. John’s.”

Sergeant Burrell’s diary furnishes us with dates of this occurrence. His own company contributed its share of the deserters. “Monday ye 5th [ May ] a number of Capt. Garashes men with some others Desarted on Bord of a Schooner. Tuesday ye 13th, 30 of our Company went home in a Schooner to New England.”

The conduct of the men of Massachusetts was a source of great mortification to the Governor, who writes of the “unwarrantable behaviour of the garrison at St. John’s River, all of whom have deserted their post, except 40 men, or thereabout, and the continuance of those forty seems to be precarious.” A few weeks later sixty men were sent from Boston to strengthen the garrison. Burrell says they arrived on the 7th of July.

The conduct of the garrison was not unnatural, although from a military point of view, entirely inexcusable. The men had enlisted for a great and, as the event proved, decisive struggle with France for supremacy on the American continent. With the surrender of Louisburg and Quebec the crisis was over. The period of their enlistment had expired ; what right had the

Massachusetts Assembly to prolong it? Why should they stay? — they reasoned.

Garrison life no doubt had become exceedingly monotonous at Fort Frederick. The surrounding country was a wilderness. The few habitations that had once existed had been abandoned and destroyed when the French fled up the river. No English settler had yet ventured to establish himself at St. John. Amid the privation and loneliness of their situation, the charms of their firesides in New England seemed peculiarly inviting.

We have now arrived at the period when the first, permanent English settlement was to be made on the Saint John River, but before proceeding to the consideration of that event a glance at the general situation is necessary. The only foothold the English had yet obtained was at Fort Frederick on the west side of St. John harbor. A considerable number of Acadians still lingered furtively in their hiding places on the river, the majority of them near the Indian village of Aukpaque. For their benefit, as well as that of the savages, the missionary Germain desired to remain at his post. He accordingly made overtures to the Nova Scotia authorities to be allowed to continue his ministrations, promising to use his influence in the interests of peace. To this proposition the Governor and Council cheerfully assented and voted the missionary a stipend of £50. A year or two afterwards he wrote acknowledging the receipt of his salary and stating it was his desire to inspire the Indians with the respect due to the government. He complains of their irregularities and says that in spite of his efforts to promote harmony he fears "they will shortly pay no regard to what he says." The Eng-

lish however, seem to have had reason to suspect that he was still disposed to act in the French interests and when he visited Quebec a little later General Murray detained him there and would not suffer him to return. The Indians applied to the Governor to send them a priest and he promised compliance but the matter was deferred and the Indians became dissatisfied. In spite of the treaty of peace they viewed the English with suspicion and were very jealous of any infringement on their aboriginal rights. After the erection of Fort Frederick they abandoned the lower part of the river and burned much of the timber land on the Long Reach and the Washademoak. At Aukpaque they destroyed their church and the buildings adjacent. The reason for the destruction of the church we need not go far to seek. In the summer of the year 1763 three chiefs came to Halifax to inquire why Father Germain had been removed from his post. They were told that he had gone of his own accord to Quebec and had been detained there by General Murray, and that the government of Nova Scotia were not responsible for it. They then desired Lieutenant Governor Belcher to provide them with another priest, which he promised to do. The Indians were satisfied and departed with the usual presents. The intention of the lieutenant governor was frustrated by an order from the Lords of Trade forbidding the employment of a French missionary. Governor Wilmot regretted this action as likely to confirm the Indians in their notion that the English were a people of dissimulation and artifice who designed to deprive them of their religion. He thought it better to use them generously and mentions the fact of their having lately burned their church, by direction of the

priest detained at Quebec, as a proof of their devotion to their religious guides.

As time went on, the advantage of having a fortified post at the mouth of the Saint. John became more and more apparent. Under its protection the vanguard of English civilization soon began to put in appearance. James Simonds, Richard Simonds and Francis Peabody came there in 1762, and two years later James Simonds, James White and their associates were established in trade at Portland Point. The garrison was then commanded by Lieut. Gilfred Studholme, of the 40th Regiment. It was Lieut. Studholme's unpleasant duty to order the Acadians remaining on the River St. John to remove. These people were living above St. Annes, and probably were settled on both sides of the main river. They had made small clearings on the uplands at various places between St. Annes and Aukpaque but drew their subsistence chiefly from the cultivation of the intervalles and islands.

In consequence of the receipt of Studholme's order to remove, the Acadians, in the summer of 1763, made the following appeal to the Governor of Nova Scotia :

Sir, — We have received, with respect, the order which His Honor the commandant of Fort Frederick has conveyed to us from you to evacuate the St. John River, and we should have done so at once had we not hoped that in pity for our past miseries, you would kindly spare us any further ones. The truth is, Sir, that we are just beginning to emerge from the unspeakably wretched condition to which war had brought us. The prospect of an abundant harvest promises us provisions for next year. If you insist on our leaving before

harvest, most of us, being without money, supplies or means of conveyance, will be driven to live like the Indians, wandering from place to place. But if you allow us to stay the winter, in order to secure our crops, we shall be able to till new lands wherever you may tell us to move to. There is no need to point out to you that a farmer who takes up new land without having supplies for a year, must inevitably be ruined, and be of no use to the Government to which he belongs. We hope, Sir, that you will be good enough to grant us a priest of our faith. Such a concession would enable us to endure patiently the troubles inseparable from such a migration. We await your final orders in regard to this matter, and have the honour to be, with all possible respect and submission, Sir,

“Your very humble & obedient servants,

“THE INHABITANTS OF ST. JOHN’S RIVER.”

Shortly after the Acadian expulsion, the Lords of Trade and Plantations urged Governor Lawrence to repeople the lands vacated by the French with settlers from New England. The idea was quite in accord with the governor’s own mind, but he was obliged to defer it for a season. In the existing state of affairs he could not spare the troops necessary to defend new settlements, and nothing was practicable until the country should be possessed in peace. However, very shortly after Monckton’s occupation of the Saint John, Lawrence issued the first of his celebrated proclamations, offering favorable terms to any industrious settlers from New England, who would remove to Nova Scotia and cultivate the lands vacated by the French, or other ungranted lands. The proclamation stated that

proposals on behalf of intending settlers would be received by Thomas Hancock at Boston, and by Messrs. De Lancey and Watts at New York, and by them transmitted to the Governor of Nova Scotia.

This proclamation had the effect of directing attention to the River St. John. Young and adventurous spirits soon came to the fore anxious to be the pioneers of civilization in the wilds of Nova Scotia. But first they wished to know: What terms of encouragement would be offered? How much land each person would get? What quit-rents and taxes would be required? What constitution of government prevailed, and what freedom in religion?

In answer to their inquiries a second proclamation was issued, in which it was declared that townships were to consist of 100,000 acres (about 12 miles square) and were to include the best lands, and rivers in their vicinity. The government was described as similar to that of the neighboring colonies, the legislature consisting of a governor, council and assembly and every township, so soon as it should consist of fifty families, entitled to send two representatives to the Assembly. The courts of justice were similar to those of Massachusetts, Connecticut and the other northern colonies, and full liberty of conscience was secured to persons of all persuasions, papists excepted, by the royal instructions and a late act of the Assembly. As yet no taxes had been imposed or fees exacted on grants. Forts garrisoned with troops were established for the protection of the lands it was proposed to settle.

The Lords of Trade approved of Governor Lawrence's proceedings but desired that land should now be reserved as a reward and provision for such officers and

soldiers as might be disbanded at the peace. This led the governor to desist from making further grants of the cleared lands to ordinary settlers. He did not, however, anticipate much benefit to the province in the attempt to people it with disbanded soldiers, and he wrote to the Lords of Trade :

“ According to my ideas of the military, which I offer with all possible deference and submission, they are the least qualified, from their occupation as soldiers, of any men living to establish new countries, where they must encounter difficulties with which they are altogether unacquainted ; and I am the rather convinced of it, as every soldier that has come into this province since the establishment of Halifax, has either quitted it or become a dramseller. ”

Soon after the treaty of Paris, a proclamation of George III., dated at the Court of St. James, Oct. 7, 1763, signified the King's approbation of the conduct of the officers and soldiers of the army, and directed the governors of the several provinces to grant, without fee or reward, to disbanded officers and soldiers who had served in North America during the war and were now residing there, lands in the following proportions : —

To every field officer, 5,000 acres, to every captain, 3,000 acres, to every subaltern or staff officer, 2,000 acres, to every non-commissioned officer, 200 acres, to every private man, 50 acres. Like grants were to be made to retired officers of the navy who had served at the reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec.

Petitions and memorials of retired officers of the army and navy now flowed in upon the provincial and imperial authorities. The desire to obtain land on the River St. John became general and military people,

The ideas of some of the memorialists were by no means small. Sir Allan McLean on the 20th April, 1762, applied for 200,000 acres on the River St. John to enable him to plant a colony. In his memorial to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, he claims to have enquired very minutely into the situation of the Province of Nova Scotia and particularly as to the advantages "of overawing the Indians by forming a frontier upon the River St. Johns." His ancestor, Sir Lauchlan McLean, was a baronet of Nova Scotia under Sir Wm. Alexander in the days of James I., and he himself had served the the several campaigns in America as Captain in Colonel Montgomery's Highlanders. He hoped that his services and the fact that his ancestors had once had a grant of lands in the province would induce the Lords of Trade favorably to consider his proposal to settle four hundred families on the Saint John within a limited time, provided that his Majesty would be pleased to grant a tract of 200,000 acres near the mouth of the river to him and his heirs.

Captain John Henry Christian de Stumpel, late a captain in his Majesty's Hanovorian service applied on behalf of himself and a large number of Protestant families, French as well as Germans, for a grant of two townships of 100,000 acres each. The Sieur de Stumpel and the Lords of Trade seem to have both had rather vague information as to the location, which is described as upon the south branch of the river above Freneuse. After the establishment of the townships, communication was to be opened by a short portage with the settlements upon the St. Lawrence. Stumpel agreed to settle within ten years, at his own cost and charges, four thousand persons on the lands to be granted him. It is needless

to say that nothing came of this scheme, although the Lords of Trade recommended that instructions should be given the Governor of Nova Scotia to carry the proposals into immediate execution.

It would be tedious and unprofitable to enter in detail into the many applications for lands with which the authorities at Halifax and Westminster were deluged at this time. The following memorial will serve as a specimen of many others :

“To the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations :

“The memorial of Captain Alex<sup>r</sup> Hay, Capt. Alex<sup>r</sup> Baillie, Capt.-Lieut. Robert George Bruce and Lieut. J. F. W. Des Barres, in behalf of themselves and fifty-four others, being officers in the army in America, Humbly Sheweth :

“That your Memorialists are Desirous to settle and improve a tract of land called Grimross and Jimsegg upon the River St. John in the Province of Nova Scotia, reaching from the upper end of Long Island, fifteen miles upwards on both sides of the River, That your Memorialists have for that purpose applyed to the Lieutenant Governor and Council of Nova Scotia for a grant of the said lands, but have obtained only a reservation of them until the Lieutenant Governor shall receive further directions from his Majesty’s ministry, touching the final disposition of the lands on that River. As your Memorialists are officers of the army in America, who in the course of their duty have contributed towards the possession of this country, and as making a settlement on that River where the lands are entirely covered with wood will be attended with great trouble and expence :

Your Memorialists therefore pray that they may obtain a grant of the said lands in the proportion of a Thousand acres to each Individual, and that they may not be forfeited for non-performance of the settlement till three years after the conclusion of the war.

And your Memorialists shall ever pray, &c., &c., &c.

ALEX'R. HAY, Capt. of the First or Royal Highland Regiment of Foot commanded by Genl. Sinclair.

ROBT. GEO. BRUCE, Capt.-Lieut. of Engineers.

JOHN SINCLAIR, Captain First Highland Battalion.

THE HON'BLE ARCHIBALD MONTGOMERIE.

HUGH DEBBEIG, Capt. of Engineers.

A. BAILLIE, Capt. in the Royal or 1st. Regt. of Foot.

J. F. W. DES BARRES, Lieut. in the Royal American Regt., commanded by Sir Jeffery Amherst.

Halifax, 30 August, 1762.

The Lords of Trade at this time had very prodigal notions concerning land grants, for in their comments on the above they observe, that "the petition appears to us so just and reasonable in itself, and the giving land to such of the disbanded officers and soldiers in America as are inclined to accept the same, appears to us so expedient and so proper a method of rewarding the merit of those who have so well deserved of their country, that we should have thought it our duty humbly to propose its being immediately complied with, had we not been apprehensive that such a proposal might possibly interfere with making provision in America for reduced officers and soldiers upon some general plan."

A year or two later the Lords of Trade recommend that a list of those who desired to make settlements in the region that is now called New Brunswick, which they term "the continental part of Nova Scotia," be submitted to his Majesty for approval. The list included thirty individuals and the lands applied for 20,000 acres apiece, aggregated upwards of 500,000 acres. The spirit of land grabbing was wide spread. Among the thirty applicants were governors and lieutenant governors such as Thomas Pownall, Michael Francklin, J. F. W. Des Barres, and John Wentworth; land surveyors like Joseph Peach and Samuel Holland; English gentlemen such as Richard Jackson, Richard Oswald and the Hon. & Rev. Mr. Richard Byron; military officers such as Colonels Archibald Montgomery, Richard Spry and Joseph Gorham; and government officials such as Benjamin Hallowell of Boston and Richard Bulkeley of Nova Scotia.

The cases noted by no means exhaust the list of the would be land-holders. There were many similar applications, the most extensive being those of Colonel Alexander McNutt and his associates, for whom upwards of a million acres of land were at one time reserved on the River St. John.

Among the retired officers of the Massachusetts regiments who became interested in the River St. John at this time were Captain Francis Peabody, William Hazen, James White, James Simonds, Nicholas West and Israel Perley. Captain Peabody had served with distinction in the late war, and is particularly mentioned by Parkman in his "Wolfe and Montcalm." From the active part he took in settling the township of Maugerville, as well as from his age and character, he must be

regarded as the most prominent and influential person on the St. John River while he lived. He died in 1773. Three of his daughters married respectively, James Simonds, Jame White and Jonathan Leavitt.

James Simonds may be considered the founder of the first permanent settlement at the mouth of the River Saint John. The attention of Mr. Simonds may have been particularly directed to St. John by the fact that his relative, Captain Moses Hazen, was stationed there in the Fort Frederick garrison in 1759. A few years ago the writer of this book had the good fortune to discover in a rubbish heap a letter in which James Simonds details the circumstances under which he came to settle at St. John. A quotation from this letter is here given :

“ In the years 1759 and 1760 proclamations were published through the colonies which promised all the lands and possessions of the Acadians, who had been removed, or any other lands lying within the Province of Nova Scotia, to such as would become settlers there. In consequence of these proclamations I went through the greater part of Nova Scotia, in time of war, at great expense and at the risk of my life, in search of the best lands and situations, and having at length determined to settle at the River St. John, obtained a promise from Government of a large tract of land for myself and brother Richard, who was with me in several of my tours. ”

James Simonds was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, in the year 1735. Upon the death of his father, Nathan Simonds, and the settlement of his estate, finding the property falling to him to be inconsiderable, he set out in company with his younger brother Richard to seek his fortune. Different parts of Nova Scotia were visited,

with a view of ascertaining the most advantageous situation for the fur trade, fishery and other business. Finding that the mouth of the St. John River was an admirable situation for trade with the Indians, that the fishery was excellent, that there was there a large tract of marsh land, and also lands that afforded great quantities of lime-stone, Mr. Simonds eventually gave the preference to this locality as a place of settlement and, having previously obtained a promise from Government of a grant of 5,000 acres in such part of the province as he might choose, he with his brother Richard took possession. In the month of May, 1762, they burnt over the great marsh east of the present city and in the ensuing summer cut there a quantity of wild hay. It was their intention to begin stock raising, but they were disappointed in obtaining a vessel to bring from Massachusetts the cattle they expected. They accordingly sold or made a present of the hay to Captain Peabody, who had recently come to St. John and built himself a house at Portland Point. This house is said to have had an oak frame, which was brought from Newburyport. In 1765 it became the property of James Simonds, Captain Peabody having moved up the river to Maugerville, and later was occupied by James White. It was not at all an elaborate or expensive building but it had the honor of being the first home of an English speaking family on the River St. John.

About the time James Simonds decided to settle at St. John, the harbor was carefully surveyed by Lieut. R. G. Bruce of the Engineers, whose plan is reproduced in these pages. A glance will suffice to show that the rocky peninsula on the eastern side of the harbor, where the business part of the city stands today, was at

Surveyed & Sounded in September 1761  
R. G. BRUCE ENG<sup>R</sup>  
Scale 300 yds to an inch

Soundings are in fathoms at Low Water below the Falls.  
- And half tide above them.



that time uninhabited. The military post at Fort Frederick imparted a little life to the immediate surroundings but across the harbor everything remained in its virgin state, except at Portland Point, where there was a small clearing and the ruins of a feeble old French Fort. The few Acadians who once lingered there had fled before the English invaders, and only when some wandering savage pitched his wigwam on the shores of "Men-ah-quesk," as he called it, was there any tenant save the fox, the bear or other wild forest creature. The rocky peninsula on the east side of the harbor, with its crags and swamps was considered of so little value that it remained ungranted up to the time of the arrival of the Loyalists.

The situation of the new-comers at Portland Point would have been very insecure had it not been for the protection afforded by Fort Frederick. The Indians had not yet become accustomed to the idea of British supremacy. Their prejudices against the English had been nurtured for generations and embittered by ruthless warfare, and we need not wonder that they viewed the coming of English settlers with a jealous eye. Even the proximity of the garrison did not prevent the situation of James Simonds and his associates from being very precarious, when the attitude of the Indians was unfriendly. Richard Simonds, who died January 20, 1765, lost his life in the defence of the property of the company when the savages were about to carry it off.

In the month of July following Mr. Green, the Commissary of provisions for the garrison of Fort Frederick, acquainted the Governor of Nova Scotia that the Indians were assembled near the Fort in great numbers, and had given out that there were several French ships of war on

the coast, and they would commence a new war against the English. The sentries at Fort Frederick were doubled in consequence. However the commandant of the garrison, with the assistance of Messrs Simonds and White, succeeded in inducing the chiefs to restrain the savages and to go to Halifax and lay their grievances before the Governor. Their chief complaint was that the English settlers were killing beavers, moose and other wild animals on their hunting grounds, and that it was a condition of a former treaty that the English settlers should not be allowed to kill any wild game in any part of the wilderness beyond the limits of their farms and improvements. By arguments and presents the savages were appeased, and the Governor promised to send orders to restrain the settlers from hunting wild animals in the woods.

For the first two years Fort Frederick was garrisoned by Massachusetts troops. They were relieved by a company from one of the Highland regiments. In 1762 the post was garrisoned by a detachment of the 40th regiment of foot under Lieutenant Gilfred Studholme. The fort afterwards continued to be garrisoned by a company of British regulars under different commanders until 1768, when the troops were withdrawn and the fort remained for several years under the nominal care of Messrs. Simonds and White.

While James and Richard Simonds were endeavoring to establish themselves at St. John, a settlement upon a more extensive scale was planned by a number of people of the County of Essex, Mass. The promotors were for the most part a number of Provincial officers and soldiers who had served in several campaigns in the late French war. The circumstances under which they came

to the River St. John and the difficulties and discouragements they encountered will be seen in their memorial forwarded in 1763 to the Lords of Trade and Plantations from which the following extracts are quoted :

To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Lords  
Commissioners of Trade and Plantations :

The Memorial of Francis Peabody, John Carlton, Jacob Barker, Nicholas West and Israel Perley, late officers in the American service and now Disbanded, in behalf of themselves and others now settled at St. John's River in Nova Scotia, Humbly Sheweth :

That your Memorialists have many of them been in Service during this Present war, and as Americans are not intitled to half pay, as his Majesty British Troops are, and therefore expected no other Recompense than a Donation of Land agreeable to his late Majesty's Promise to them.

That having been solicited to settle in Nova Scotia, by Colonel McNutt, who appeared to us to be authorized by your Lordships ( having produced to us an Instrument signed by your Lordships promising a Right of Land to each Settler equal to those already granted to Horton, Cornwallis and Falmouth ) we were induced to come into the colony of Nova Scotia, and accordingly sent a Committee to view Lands proper for a Settlement. That our Committee accordingly viewed several Tracts of Lands in Nova Scotia at our expence and advised us to settle upon St. John's River about seventy miles from the Mouth. . . . That the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia gave your Memorialists encouragement, by telling them that the Lands about St. John's River were

reserved for disbanded Troops and that they would refer your Memorialists' Petition to your Lordships.

In consequence of this, and being ourselves Soldiers, we apprehended we might with great safety prepare ourselves for settling the Lands we petitioned for, and accordingly sold our Estates in New England, and have at near a thousand pounds sterling expence transported ourselves, families and stock, and are now settled to the number of one hundred persons, on St. John's River seventy miles from the mouth ; and a large number of disbanded officers and soldiers in confidence of the same encouragement have now sold all their possessions in New England and are hiring vessels to transport themselves and settle among us.

We were not a little astonished when we were informed by his Majesty's Governor and Council here that we could not have a grant of the lands we have settled ourselves upon.

We therefore humbly apply to your Lordships to lay our cause before his most Gracious Majesty for whose service we have often exposed our lives in America, that he would be pleased to direct the Governor and Council here to grant us these lands we are now settled upon, as the removal therefrom would prove our utter ruin and destruction. We have been at no expence to the crown and intend to be at none, and are settled two hundred miles from any other English Settlement.

And your Memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Rec'd. & Read Dec'r. 16, 1763.

It is evident from this memorial that Colonel Alexander McNutt was the originator of the idea of

establishing a Massachusetts colony on the River St. John. McNutt claims to have been the first to respond to Governor Lawrence's proclamation of October, 1758, for peopling the lands vacated by the French or other lands in the province. McNutt was an enthusiastic colonizer. Active and even aggressive by nature he found favor with Lawrence, who was also a man of action. While Lawrence did not personally approve of the settlement of the country with the disbanded soldiery, he was obliged to yield to the wishes of the Home government in this particular and, after due consideration, recommended that they should be settled on the Saint John to overawe the Indians and to advance the frontier.

Lieut. Governor Belcher in January, 1763, complained to the Lords of Trade of McNutt's "precipitate and unjustifiable act" in sending so large a body of settlers to the River St. John without previous notice or indeed any suspicion of such a measure on the part of the authorities of Nova Scotia. "This is chiefly to be lamented," the Lieut.-Gov'r, adds, "in that it may greatly frustrate the intention of entirely settling those parts with disbanded soldiers in case of peace, as had been proposed by Mr. Lawrence to the King's Ministers, and the lands reserved by him accordingly."

Six months later Charles Morris and Henry Newton, two of the Council of Nova Scotia, were sent from Halifax to notify the Acadians living near St. Anne's to remove to some other part of the province and also to inform the settlers from New England that their lands were reserved for disbanded officers and soldiers of the army. The message naturally created general consternation in the settlement. However, Messrs.

Morris and Newton made the cause of the settlers their own. A memorial was prepared and signed by Francis Peabody and his brother officers and forwarded to Joshua Mauger, the Province Agent in London, to be presented to the Lords of Trade. In a letter to Joshua Mauger on behalf of the settlers Messrs. Morris and Newton say: "We are very apprehensive that their case must by some means or other have been misrepresented to the Lords of Trade or not clearly understood. They are chiefly American soldiers, officers or privates, who have sold their farms in New England and have transported themselves at their own expence. They have brought considerable stock with them, and their families, and if it is the intention of the ministry to settle disbanded troops on that River, we are of opinion these people will be of use and service, as it cannot be expected English soldiers can bring any great stock with them. The removing of these people now they are settled will be their utter ruin."

The above representation combined with the advocacy of Mauger saved the situation. He took the liveliest interest in their cause and largely through his efforts the Lords of Trade on the 20th December, 1763, recommended that the memorial of the disbanded officers of the Provincial forces be granted, and that they be confirmed in possession of the lands on which they had settled. The matter was finally settled by the adoption of the following resolve on the part of King George the III. and his Council:

"Whereas the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have represented to His Majesty that a memorial has been presented to him on behalf of several disbanded officers of His Majesty's provincial forces in

North America, setting forth that induced by several encouragements they have sold their lands in New England and settled themselves and families upon the St. John River in His Majesty's province of Nova Scotia at the distance of 200 miles from any other settlement and praying that the possession of the lands upon which they have settled themselves at a very great expence may be confirmed to them by His Majesty : The Governor of Nova Scotia is ordered to cause the land upon which they are settled to be laid out in a Township consisting of 100,000 acres, 12 miles square, one side to front on the river. Also to reserve a site for a town with a sufficient number of lots, with reservations for a church, town-house, public quays and wharves and other public uses; the grants to be made in proportion to their ability and the number of persons in their families, but not to exceed 1,000 acres to one person. That a competent quantity of land be allotted for the maintenance of a minister and school-master and also one town lot to each of them in perpetuity."

For months the settlers of Maugerville remained in a state of suspense and in much anxiety as to their fate. They were naturally greatly relieved when the order of the King in Council arrived confirming them in possession of the lands they had settled. The kindness and generosity of Joshua Mauger, who bore the expense of their appeal and exerted himself in their behalf, were fully appreciated, and as a tribute of respect and gratitude to their patron the settlers gave to their township the name of "Maugerville."

The Township of Maugerville was laid out early in the year 1762 by a party under Israel Perley their surveyor. In the survey Richard Simonds acted as

chain bearer and James Simonds, who was one of the patentees of the township, also assisted, receiving the sum of £40 for his services.

The New Englanders who came to Maugerville did not without due consideration abandon their comfortable homes, where they had been reared, to begin life anew on the banks of the St. John. They listened to the sanguine and enthusiastic words of Colonel McNutt when he urged the duty of seizing this golden opportunity of bettering their fortunes, but they also sent an exploring party to test the matter for themselves. The leader of this party was Israel Perley, a young land surveyor, who was accompanied by twelve men. They proceeded to Machias by water, and there shouldering their knapsacks took a course through the woods and succeeded in reaching the head waters of the River Oromocto, which they descended to the St. John. They found the country a wide waste, and no obstacles, save what might be afforded by the Indians, to its being at once occupied and settled, and with this report they returned to Boston. The result of their report is seen in the organization of a company of would be settlers shortly afterwards under the leadership of Captain Francis Peabody. There is in the *Boston Gazette and News-letter* of September 20, 1762, an advertisement calling upon all of the signers under Captain Francis Peabody for a township at St. John's River in Nova Scotia, to meet at the house of Daniel Ingalls, inn-holder in Andover, on Wednesday, the 6th day of October at 10 o'clock a. m., in order to draw their lots, which are already laid out, to choose an agent to go to Halifax on their behalf and to attend to any other matters that should be thought proper. The advertisement continues: "And whereas it was voted at the

meeting on April 6th, 1762, that each signer should pay by April 30th, twelve shillings for laying out their land and six shillings for building a mill thereon, and some signers have neglected payment, they must pay the amount at the next meeting or be excluded and others admitted in their place."

The first published account of the founding of the Maugerville settlement is that of Peter Fisher, printed by Chubb & Sears at St. John in 1825.

Under the title "A narrative of the proceedings of the first settlers at the River St. John, under the

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Peter Fisher". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the text "A narrative of the proceedings of the first settlers at the River St. John, under the".

authority of the Government of Nova Scotia," Mr. Fisher tells us that in the year 1761, a number of persons from the County of Essex, province of Massachusetts, presented a petition through their agent (Francis Peabody), to the Government of Nova Scotia, for the grant of a township twelve miles square at the River St. John; they received a favorable answer and obtained full authority to survey a tract of that dimension, wherever it might be found fit for improvement. In consequence many of the applicants proceeded in the course of the winter and spring following to prepare for exploring the country and to survey their township; they provided a vessel for that purpose and on the 16th May, 1762, embarked at Newburyport and arrived in three days at the harbor of Saint John.

"The exploring and surveying party proceeded to view the lands round the harbor and bay of Saint John in a whale boat they brought with them, for they could not travel on the land on account of the multitude of

fallen trees that had been torn up by the roots in a gale nearly four years previous. The same gale extended as far up the river as the Oromocto, and most of the country below that place was greatly encumbered with the fallen trees.

After making all the discoveries that could be made near this harbor, it was the unanimous opinion that all the lands in that part of the country were unfit for their purpose and about ten days after their first arrival, they set out to view the country as far as Saint Anne's, ninety miles up the river, where they expected to find an extensive body of cleared land that had been formerly improved by the French inhabitants. On their way they landed wherever they saw any appearance of improvement.

On the arrival of the exploring party at St. Anne's, they lost no time in making a shelter for themselves nearly opposite the river Nashwaak — and they commenced their survey at the small gravelly point near Government House, with the intention of surveying a township to terminate twelve miles below that place, but after surveying the courses of the river about four miles downward, a large company of Indians came down about nine miles, from their village above with an Interpreter, all having painted faces of divers colours and figures and dressed in their war habits. The chiefs, with grave countenances, informed the adventurers that they were trespassers on their rights; that the country belonged to them and unless they retired immediately they would compel them to do so.

The reply made to the chiefs was to this effect: that the adventurers had received authority to survey and settle any land they should choose at the River Saint

John ; that they had never been informed of the Indians claiming the village of Saint Anne, but as they declared the land there to be their property ( though it had been inhabited by the French, who were considered entitled to it, till its capture by the English ) they would retire further down the river. The surveying party removed their camp, according to their promise, almost as far down as the lower end of Oromocto Island on the east side of the river, whence they finished their survey twelve miles below the bounds first intended and returned to Fort Frederick.

When the attention of James Simonds was first called to the proclamations of Governor Lawrence inviting the inhabitants of New England to settle in Nova Scotia, he was a young man of twenty-four years of age. His father had died at Haverhill in August, 1757. The next year he accompanied his uncle, Capt. Hazen, to the assault of Ticonderoga, in the capacity of a subaltern officer in the Provincial troops. Shortly after the close of the campaign he came to Nova Scotia in quest of a promising situation for engaging in trade. The fur trade was what he had chiefly in mind, but the Indians were rather unfriendly, and he became interested with Captain Peabody, Israel Perley and others in their proposed settlement on the River St. John. His partners in the trading company formed in 1764 were, with the exception of Mr. Blodget, younger men than himself. William Hazen, of Newburyport, had just attained to manhood and belonged to a corps of Massachusetts Rangers, which served at the taking of Quebec. Samuel Blodget was a follower of the army on Lake Champlain as a sutler. James White was a young man of two and twenty years and had been for some time Mr. Blodget's

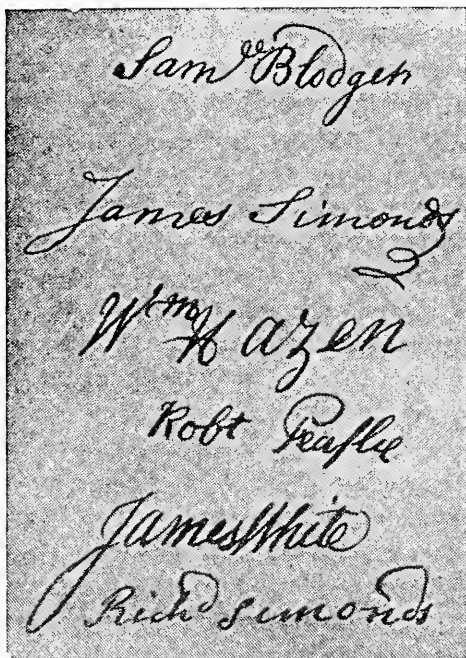
clerk or assistant. Leonard Jarvis—afterwards William Hazen's business partner and thus a member of the trading company—was not then eighteen years of age.

While engaged in his explorations, Mr. Simonds obtained from the government of Nova Scotia a promise of a grant to 5,000 acres of unappropriated lands in such part of the province as he should choose, and it was under this arrangement he entered upon the marsh east of the city of St. John (called by the Indians "Seebaskastagan") in the year 1762, and cut there a quantity of salt marsh hay and began to make improvements.

Early in 1763, James Simonds and William Hazen had engaged in a small venture in the way of trade and fishing at St. John and Passamaquoddy. They had several men in their employ, including Ebenezer Eaton, master of the sloop Bachelor, and Samuel Middleton, a cooper, who was employed in making barrels for shipping the fish.

The success of their modest little venture encouraged Hazen and Simonds to undertake a more ambitious project, namely the organization of a trading company to "enter upon and pursue with all speed and faithfulness the business of the cod fishery, seine fishery, fur trade, burning of lime and every other trading business that shall be thought advantageous to the company at Passamaquoddy, St. Johns, Canso and elsewhere in or near the province of Nova Scotia and parts adjacent." A pretty wide field of operations truly.

The original contract is still in existence and in an excellent state of preservation. A fac-simile of the signatures appended is here given. It is endorsed "Contract for St. John's and Passamaquodi."



Saml Bloodgen  
James Simonds  
Wm Hazen  
Robt Peaslee  
James White  
Richd Simonds

The project evidently was regarded as in some measure an experiment, for the contract provided, "the partnership shall continue certain for the space of one year and for such longer time as all the partys shall hereafter agree." Examination of the document shows that when first written the period for which the contract was to continue was left blank and the word *one* subsequently inserted before "year," evidently after careful consultation on the part of those concerned.

Speaking of the circumstances under which this contract was entered into Mr. Simonds says in one of his letters: "The accounts which I gave my friends in New

England of the abundance of Fish in the River and the convenience of taking them, of the extensive Fur trade of the country, and the natural convenience for burning Lime, caused numbers of them to make proposals to be concerned with me in those branches of business, among whom Mr. Hazen was the first that joined me in a trial. Afterwards, in the year 1764, although I was unwilling that any should be sharers with me in the Fur trade, which I had acquired some knowledge of, yet by representations that superior advantage could be derived from a cod-fishery on the Banks and other branches of commerce, which I was altogether unacquainted with, I joined in a contract for carrying it on for that year upon an extensive plan with Messrs. Blodget, Hazen, White, Peaslie and R. Simonds."

Shortly before the formation of the trading company, James Simonds went to Halifax to procure a grant of land at St. John and a license to trade with the Indians, but did not succeed in obtaining the grant. However the governor gave him the following license to occupy Portland Point :

"License is hereby granted to James Simonds to occupy a tract or point of land on the north side of St. John's River, opposite Fort Frederick, for carrying on a fishery and for burning lime-stone, the said tract or point of land containing by estimation ten acres.

[Signed]

"MONTAGU WILMOT."

"Halifax, February 8, 1764.

Upon this land at Portland Point the buildings required for the business of the company were built. The partnership was in its way a "family compact," of

which William Hazen was the connecting link, if not the central figure. Samuel Blodget was distantly related to Mr. Hazen, James and Richard Simonds and James White were his cousins, and Robert Peaslie had married his sister Anna Hazen. It was agreed that Messrs. Blodget, Hazen and James Simonds should each have one-fourth part in the business and profits, the remaining fourth part to be divided amongst the juniors, Messrs. White, Peaslie and Richard Simonds.

Blodget and Hazen were the principal financial backers of the undertaking and agreed to provide, at the expense of the company, the vessels, boats, tackling, and all goods and stock needed to carry on the trade, also to receive and dispose of the fish, furs and other produce sent to them from Nova Scotia. The fishery and other business at St. John and elsewhere in Nova Scotia was to be looked after by the other partners who were to proceed with James Simonds to St. John and work under his direction.

There is no evidence to show that any of the company except the two brothers Simonds had been at St. John previous to the year 1764. The statement is frequently made that James White visited St. John in 1762 in company with James Simonds and Capt. Francis Peabody, but his own papers, which are still in existence, clearly prove that he was engaged in the employ of Samuel Blodget at Crown Point during that year. A few individuals, however, who were concerned in the operations of the company had previously been at St. John. Lemuel Cleveland had been there in 1757, at which time, he says, there was a French fort at Portland Point where Mr. Simonds' house was afterwards built. Moses Greenough was there in 1758. Hugh Quinton

and his wife, Captain Francis Peabody and family and James Simonds had landed at the harbor of St. John on 28th August, 1762. Accommodation was provided at Fort Frederick for the women of the party, and there on the night of their arrival, James Quinton, son of Hugh and Elizabeth Quinton, first saw the light being the first child of English speaking parents whose birth is recorded in St. John.

William Hazen and James Simonds were undoubtedly the originators of the trading company that began its operations at St. John in 1764. By their joint efforts they were able to organize a firm seemingly happily constituted and likely to work together harmoniously and successfully. As a matter of fact, however, the company had a very chequered career till at length the war of the Revolution threatened to involve them in financial ruin. This seeming calamity in the end proved to be the making of their fortunes by sending the Loyalists in thousands to our shores. But of all this more anon.

The financial backers of the company, Hazen and Blodget, carried on business at Newburyport and Boston respectively. These towns were then rising into importance and were rivals in trade, although it was not long until Boston forged ahead. The goods required for trade with the Indians and white inhabitants and the military garrison at Fort Frederick were supplied from Newburyport and Boston, which were also the distributing centres for the fish, furs, lumber, lime and other products obtained at St. John. The furs were usually sold in London; the other articles in the local markets or sent to the West Indies.

The Company having been formed and the contract signed on the 1st day of March, 1764, the Messrs.

Simonds, James White, Jonathan Leavitt and a party of about thirty hands embarked on board a schooner belonging to the Company for the scene of operations. The men were fishermen, laborers, lime burners, and one or two coopers—a rough and ready lot, with one or two of superior intelligence to act as foremen. Comparatively few of them seem to have become permanent settlers, yet as members of the little colony at Portland Point and among the first English-speaking inhabitants of St. John, outside the Fort Frederick garrison, their names are worthy to be recorded. The following may be regarded as a complete list: James Simonds, James White, Jonathan Leavitt, Jonathan Simonds, Samuel Middleton, Peter Middleton, Edmund Black, Moses True, Reuben Stevens, John Boyd, Moses Kimball, Benjamin Dow, Thomas Jenkins, Batcheldor Ring, Rowley Andros, Edmund Butler, John Nason, Reuben Mace, Benjamin Wiggins, John Lovering, John Stevens, John Hookey, Reuben Sergeant, Benjamin Stanwood, Benjamin Winter, Anthony Dyer, Webster Emerson, George Carey, John Hunt, George Berry, Simeon Hilyard, Ebenezer Fowler, William Picket and Ezekiel Carr.



## CHAPTER XIV.

Members of First Trading Company at St. John—Messrs. Blodget, Simonds, Hazen, Peaslie and White—Life at Portland Point—Operations at Passamaquoddy—Hardships of the Settlers—Earthquake at St. John—Rivals in Trade—John Anderson at Nashwaak.



SOME account will now be given of the individuals who formed the trading company under which the first business operations were undertaken at the mouth of the River Saint John in the Spring of the year 1764.

Samuel Blodget was a Boston man, somewhat older than the other members of the company, careful and shrewd, having some money and but little learning. He had been associated with William Hazen in contracts for supplying the army on Lake Champlain in the recent French war. His connection with the company lasted a little more than two years. During this time a considerable part of the furs, fish, lime and lumber obtained by Simonds and White were consigned to him at Boston. Blodget supplied the goods for the Indian trade and other articles needed, but his extreme caution proved a source of dissatisfaction to the other partners and Hazen and Jarvis at the end of the first year's business wrote to Simonds & White, "Mr. Blodget tells us that he never expected to advance more than a quarter of the outsets. We think in this he does not serve us very well, and we can't see into the reason of our advancing near three-quarters and doing more than ten

times the business and his having an equal share of the profits. Pray give us your opinion on that head. You may rest assured that we will not leave one stone unturned to keep you supply'd and believe, even if we should not have the requisite assistance from Mr. Blodget, we shall be able to effect it."

After the second year of the partnership had passed Mr. Blodget began to be exceedingly anxious as to the outcome of the venture. He wrote a letter on the 18th March, 1766, to Simonds & White of which the extract that follows is a part :

"I have been Largely conserned in partnerships before Now, but Never so Ignorant of any as of the present, which I am willing to Impute to your hurry of Business, But Let me Tell you that partners are in a high degree guilty of Imprudence to Continue a Large Trade for Two years without Settling or knowing whether they have Lost a hundred pounds or not — although they may be ever so Imersed in Business, for the Sooner they Stop the better, provided they are Losing money — as it seames in Mr. Hazen's oppinion we have Lost money — perhaps you may Know to the Contrary. But then how agreeable would it be to me ( who have a Large Sum in your hands ) to know as much as you do. Pray Suffer me to ask you, can you wonder to find me anxious about my Interest when I am so Ignorant what it is in ? I am sure you don't Gent'n. I am not in doubt of your Integrity. I think I know you Both Two well. But common prudence calls Loudly upon us all to adjust our accounts as soon as may be. I have not the Least Line under yours and Mr. White's hands to say that the Articles which we signed the first yeare, which was dated the First of March, 1764, — which was but for

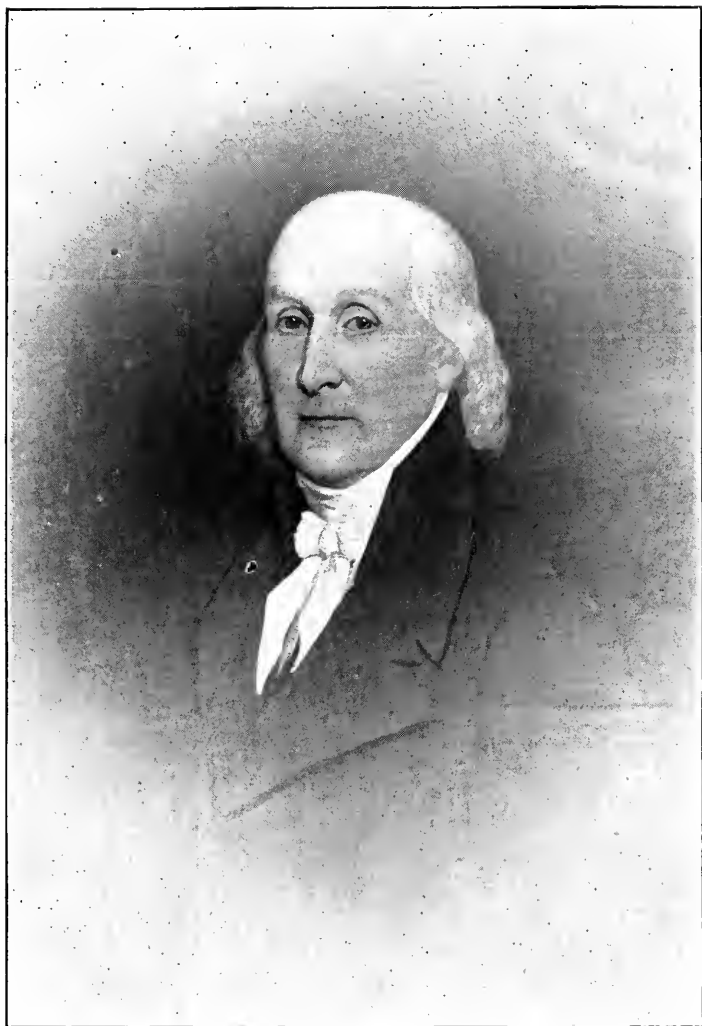
one yeare — should Continue to the present Time, nor do I doubt your onour, but Still mortallity Requierers it to be done and I should take it Coind to Receive Such a Righting sent by both of you.”

Mr. Blodget's uneasiness as to the outcome of the business was set at rest very shortly after, for on April 5th Hazen and Jarvis inform their partners at St. John :

“ We have purchased Mr. Blodget's Interest, for which we are to pay him his outsetts. We are in hopes that we shall be able to carry on the Business better without than with him. \* \* We must beg you would be as frugal as possible in the laying out of any money that benefits will not be immediately reaped from, and that you will make as large remittances as you possibly can to enable us to discharge the Company's debt to Blodget, for we shall endeavor all in our power to discharge our obligations to him as we do not chuse to lay at his mercy.”

Thas it appears that if Samuel Blodget's two years connection with the company was not greatly to his advantage, it did him no material injury. From this time he ceases to have any interest for us in the affairs at Portland Point.

James Simonds, whose name is second among the signers of the business contract of 1764, may be regarded as the founder of the business, and of the first permanent settlement at the mouth of the River St. John. His most remote ancestor in America was William Simonds of Woburn, Massachusetts. William Simonds married Judith Phippen, who came to America in the “ Planter ” in 1635. Tradition says that as the vessel drew near her destination land was first seen by Judith Phippin, which



JAMES SIMONDS  
A Pioneer at Portland Point



proved to be the headland now called "Point Judith." Among the passengers on the "Planter" were ancestors of many families well known in America — the Peabodys, Perleys, Beardsleys, Carters, Haywards, Peters and others. In 1643 Judith Phippen became the wife of William Simonds. The house in which they lived at Woburn, Mass., and where their twelve children were born, was standing when visited a few years since by one of their descendants living in this province. William Simonds' tenth child, James married Susanna Blodget and their sixth child, Nathan, was the father of James Simonds, who came to St. John. Nathan Simonds married Sarah Hazen of Haverhill, an aunt of William Hazen, and their oldest child the subject of this sketch, was born at Haverhill, December 10, 1735.

James Simonds was not only a man of remarkable energy and ability but of stout constitution and vigor of body, for he not only survived all his contemporaries who came to St. John, but he outlived every member of of the first New Brunswick legislature, and every official appointed by the crown at the organization of the province. He passed to his rest in the house he had built at Portland Point at the patriarchal age of 95 years. His widow died in 1840 at the age of 90 years.

Of James Simonds' large family of fourteen children several were prominent in the community. Hon. Charles Simonds was for years the leading citizen of Portland. He was born the same year the Loyalists landed in St. John, and was a member for St. John county in the House of Assembly from 1821 until his death in 1859, filling during that time the positions of speaker and leader of the government. Hon. Richard Simonds, born in 1789, was chosen to represent the county of Northum-

berland in the House of Assembly when but twenty-one years of age and sat from 1810 to 1828, when he was appointed treasurer of the province. He filled for a short time the position of speaker of the assembly, and from 1829 until his death in 1836 was a member of the Legislative Council. Sarah, one of the daughters of James Simonds, married (Sept. 10, 1801) Thomas Millidge, the ancestor of the Millidges of St. John, her youngest sister Eliza married (August 9, 1801) Henry Gilbert, merchant of St. John, from whom the members of this well known family are descended.

William Hazen, the third of the signers of the partnership contract, was born in Haverhill July 17, 1738. His great-grandfather, Edward Hazen, first of the name in America, was a resident of Rowley, Massachusetts, as early as the year 1649. By his wife Hannah Grant he had four sons and seven daughters. The youngest son Richard, born August 6, 1669, inherited the large estate of his step-father, George Browne, of Haverhill. This Richard Hazen was grandfather of James Simonds as well as of William Hazen: he married Mary Peabody and had a family of five sons and six daughters. The third son, Moses Hazen, was the ancestor of the Hazens of New Brunswick.

Moses Hazen married Abigail White, aunt of James White who came to St. John. Their sons John, Moses and William have a special interest for us. John the oldest distinguished himself as a captain of the Massachusetts troops in the French war. He married Anne Swett of Haverhill, and had a son John, who came with his uncle William to St. John in 1775 and settled at Burton on the River St. John, where he married Dr. William McKinstry's daughter, Priscilla, and had a

family of twelve children. Hon. J. Douglas Hazen, of St. John, Attorney-General and Premier of New Brunswick, is one of his descendants.

Moses Hazen, the second son, was commander of one of the companies of the Fort Frederick garrison in 1759 and became a Brigadier General in the American army in the Revolutionary war, as already stated.

William Hazen, the third son, and co-partner of Simonds and White, was the ancestor of a distinguished family. He married Sarah Le Baron of Plymouth. His family was even larger than that of James Simonds and included at least sixteen children. Of these Elizabeth married Ward Chipman, Judge of the Supreme Court and, at the time of his death, administrator of government; Sarah Lowell married Thomas Murray (grandfather of the late Miss Frances Murray of St. John, one of the cleverest women the province has produced) and after his early decease became the wife of Judge William Botsford; Charlotte married General Sir John Fitzgerald; Frances Amelia married Col. Charles Drury of the imperial army, father of the late Ward Chipman Drury.

Among the descendants of William Hazen by the male line were Hon. Robert L. Hazen recorder of the City of St. John, a very eminent leader in provincial politics and at the time of his death a Canadian senator; also Robert F. Hazen who was mayor of St. John and one of its most influential citizens.

William Hazen died in 1814 at the age of 75 years. His eldest daughter, Mrs. Chipman, died at the Chipman House May 18, 1852, the anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists, and her son, Chief Justice Chipman, died November 26, 1851, the sixty-seventh anniversary of the

organization of the first supreme court of the province. The widow of Chief Justice Chipman died on the 4th of July, 1876, the centennial of the Declaration of American Independence.

Robert Peaslie, whose name stands fourth among the members of the company, for some reason did not go to St. John and the only reference we have to him is in a letter from Hazen & Jarvis of Newburyport to Simonds & White written in April, 1765, which states: "Mr. Peaslie has determined to settle down in Haverhill and to leave this concern, and as by this means and the death of your Brother, in which we sincerely condole with you, one-sixth part of the concern becomes vacant, we propose to let Mr. White have one-eighth and to take three-eighths ourselves — this you will please consult Mr. White upon and advise us. \* \* \* We must beg you will send all the accts. both you and Mr. White have against the Company, and put us in a way to settle with Mr. Peaslie."

James White, the fifth signer of the articles of partnership, was born in Haverhill in 1738, and was a lineal descendant of the Worshipful William White, one of the founders of the place. He served as an ensign or lieutenant in a Massachusetts regiment, and after the fall of Quebec retired from active service and entered the employ of William Tailer and Samuel Blodget, merchants of Boston, at the modest salary of twenty dollars a month.

James White's papers show that he was engaged in the business of Tailer and Blodget at Crown Point continuously from September, 1761, to July, 1763; consequently the statement, commonly made, that he came to St. John with Francis Peabody, James Simonds, Hugh Quinton and their party in 1762 is a mistake.

In the early part of 1764 James White was employed by Samuel Blodget in business transactions in Haverhill, New Salem and Bradford. The first occasion on which he set foot on the shores of St. John was when he landed there with James Simonds and the party that established themselves at Portland Point in April, 1764. The important part he played in the early affairs of St. John will appear in these pages. He was one of the most active and energetic men of his generation and filled several offices in the old county of Sunbury, of which he was sheriff. This office seems to have had special attractions for the White family, for his son James was sheriff of the city and county of St. John for more than thirty years, and one of his daughters married Sheriff DeVeber of Queens county. Mr. White was collector of customs at St. John when the Loyalists landed. The emoluments were small, for in the year 1782 only a dozen vessels entered and cleared at St. John, the largest of but 30 tons burden. James White spent the closing years of his life on his farm at the head of the marsh about three miles from the City of St. John. He died in 1815 at the age of 77 years.

A sad incident in the early days of the company was the untimely death of young Richard Simonds to which reference has been already made.

Among those who came to Portland Point with Simonds and White in 1764, none was destined to play a more active and useful part than Jonathan Leavitt. He was a native of New Hampshire and at the time of his arrival was in his eighteenth year. Young as he was he had some experience as a mariner, and from 1764 to 1774 was employed as master of some one or other of the Company's vessels. He sailed chiefly between St. John

and Newburyport, but occasionally made a voyage to the West Indies. He received a modest compensation of £4 per month for his services. In the course of time Mr. Leavitt came to be one of the most trusted navigators of the Bay of Fundy and probably none knew the harbor of St. John so well as he. In his testimony in a law suit, about the year 1792, he states that in early times the places of anchorage in the harbor were the flats on the west side, between Fort Frederick and Sand Point, which were generally used by strangers, and Portland Point where the vessels of the Company lay. It was not until 1783 that vessels began to anchor at the Upper Cove (now the Market Slip) that place being until then deemed rather unsafe. Jonathan Leavitt and his brother Daniel piloted to their landing places the transport ships that carried some thousands of Loyalists to our shores during the year 1783.

Jonathan Leavitt gives an interesting synopsis of the business carried on at Saint John under direction of Simonds and White. The company's business he says included the fishery, fur trade, manufacture of lime, shipbuilding and sawing lumber, and they employed a great number of laborers and workmen in cutting wood, burning lime, digging stone, cutting hoop-poles, clearing roads, clearing land, curing fish, cutting hay and attending stock.

For nearly ten years Mr. Leavitt was employed in navigating the vessels of the company. When he was in St. John he lived in the family of Simonds and White, who lived together during the greater part of the ten years he was in the Company's employ, and when they separated their families he staid sometimes with one and sometimes with the other. Simonds and White

were supplied with bread, meat and liquors for themselves and families from the store, and no account was kept whilst they lived together, but after they separated they were charged against each family; the workmen also were maintained, supported and fed from the joint stock of the store, as it was considered they were employed for the joint benefit of the company, but liquors and articles furnished on account of their wages were charged against the men in the accounts. Part of the workmen and laborers were hired by William Hazen and sent from Newburyport, others were engaged by Simonds and White at the River St. John.

About the year 1772 Jonathan Leavitt married Capt. Francis Peabody's youngest daughter, Heprabeth, then about sixteen years of age, and thus became more closely identified with James Simonds and James White, whose wives were also daughters of Capt. Peabody.

In the autumn of 1764, Leonard Jarvis, a young man of twenty-two years of age, William Hazen's co-partner in business at Newburyport, became by common consent a sharer in the business at St. John. So far as we can judge from his letters, Mr. Jarvis was a man of excellent business ability. The accounts kept at Newburyport in connection with the Company's business are in his handwriting and he attended to most of the correspondence with the St. John partners.

In addition to the Leavitts and the masters of other vessels, who were intelligent men, nearly all at St. John were ordinary laborers. The company however, from time to time employed capable young fellows to assist in the store at the Point. One of these was Samuel Webster, whose mother was a half-sister of James Simonds.

The exact date of the arrival of Simonds and White with their party at St. John, according to a memorandum found by the author among the James White papers, was the 16th of April. The men set to work immediately, and the quietude that so long had reigned under the shadow of Fort Howe hill was broken by the sound of the woodman's axe and the carpenter's saw and hammer. A good sized store was built and a dwelling house nineteen by thirty-five feet, also a roughly furnished building sixteen by forty feet to serve the purpose of an eating room, kitchen, cooper shop and shelter for the workmen.

Portland Point, where the buildings stood, is at the foot of Portland street, near the head of St. John harbor. The Point was quite conspicuous as a land-mark before the wharves in the vicinity were built. The site of the old French fort on which James Simonds' house was built with the company's store hard by is now a green mound unoccupied by any building. The place was sometimes called "Simonds' Point" and in 1776 the name of "Portland Point" seems to have come into use. Nevertheless, down to the time of the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783, the members of the company always applied the name of "St. Johns," or "St. John's River," to the scene of their operations, and it may be said that in spite of the attempt of Villebon and his contemporaries to perpetuate the old Indian name of Menagoeche, and of Governor Parr in later years to affix the name of "Parrtown" to that part of our city on the east side of the harbor, the name of St. John, given by de Monts and Champlain in 1604, has persisted to the present day.

The task that lay before James Simonds and James White was no easy one. Difficulties, many of them unforeseen, had to be faced, and the great diversity of

their business taxed their energies to the fullest extent. At one time the fishery claimed their attention, at another the Indian trade; at one time the building of houses for themselves and their tenants, at another the dyking of the marsh; at one time they were engaged in the erection of a mill, at another in building a schooner; at one time they were making a a wharf, at another laying out roads or clearing land; at one time they were furnishing supplies and cordwood to the garrison, at another engaged in burning and shipping lime.

Communication with New England in those days was slow and uncertain and sometimes the non-arrival of a vessel, when the stock of provisions had run low, caused plenty of grumbling on the part of the hands. This was particularly the case when the rum chanced to run out. The wages of the laborers employed by the company were generally 2s. 6d., or half a dollar, a day, and they were boarded by the company. As a rule the men took up their wages at the store and the item most frequently charged against their names was New England rum. The writer had the curiosity to examine the charges for rum in one of the old day books for a period of a month — the month selected at random — when it appeared that, of a dozen laborers, four averaged half a pint each a day, while the same allowance lasted the others three days. Tea, the great modern beverage, was rather a luxury and used sparingly, but rum, which retailed at 8 pence a pint, was used almost universally. Human nature was much the same in the eighteenth as in the twentieth century. The men often drank to excess, and some of them would have been utterly unreliable but for the fact that Simonds and White were masters of the

situation and could cut off the supply. They generally doled out the liquor by half pints and gills to their laborers. On one occasion we find Mr. Simonds writing, "The men are in low spirits, have nothing to eat but pork and bread, and nothing but water to drink. Knowing this much I trust you will lose no time in sending to our relief."

At various times the privations were exceedingly great and even after the little colony had been for some years established they sometimes suffered for lack of the necessities of life. Mr. Simonds thus describes their experience in the early part of 1770: "Such a scene of misery of man and beast we never saw before. There was not anything of bread kind equal to a bushel of meal for every person when the schooner sailed for Newbury three months ago, and less of meat and vegetables in proportion—the Indians and hogs had part of that little."

He goes on to say that the flour that had just arrived in the schooner was wet and much damaged, no Indian corn was to be had and for three months they had been without molasses or coffee, nor had they any tea except of the spruce variety.

In one of his letters, written a few months after the commencement of the Company's operations, James Simonds urges the careful attention of Blodget and Hazen to their part of the business, observing: "I hope if I sacrifice my interest, ease, pleasure of Good Company, and run the risque even of life itself for the benefit of the Company, those who live where the circumstances are every way the reverse will in return be so good as to take every pains to dispose of all effects remitted to the best advantage."

The first year's experience was in some respects phenomenal. On the 30th September, 1764, a very severe shock of an earthquake occurred at St. John about 12 o'clock, noon. The winter that followed was of unusual severity with storms that wrought much damage to shipping. Leonard Jarvis wrote to James Simonds on April 3, 1765, "There has not been in the memory of man such a winter as the last and we hope there never will be again." Mr. Simonds in his reply says "The winter has been much here as in New England."

In the letter just referred to Mr. Jarvis says: "We hope in future, by keeping the schooner constantly running between this place and yours, that we shall be able to surmount our greatest difficulties. . . . We have sent you by this schooner some table linen and what other table furniture we thought you might have occasion for. If there is anything more wanting to make you not only comfortable but Genteel, beg you would advise us and we will furnish you with it by the return of the schooner Wilmot."

In reply Mr. Simonds writes, "I am obliged to you for sending some furniture, for truly none was ever more barely furnished than we were before. Gentility is out of the question."

The business of Simonds and White was not confined to St. John, they had quite an important post for the Indian trade and fishery at Indian Island near Campobello. This place, owing to its proximity to New England, had been the first to attract Mr. Simonds' notice. The smaller vessels of the Company, the sloops Bachelor, Peggy and Molly and schooners Eunice and Polly, were for several years employed in fishing

at Passamaquoddy from April to October. The masters of the vessels received £4 per month for their services. The crews employed were engaged by Hazen and Jarvis and at the close of the season returned to their homes in New England. It was the custom for a year or two for Mr. Simonds or Mr. White, to attend at Passamaquoddy during the fishing season. The partners had a keen eye to business; on one occasion they purchased a whale from the Indians and tried out the oil, but this seems to have been merely a stray monster of the deep for, in answer to the query of Hazen & Jarvis, James Simonds writes, "With respect to whaling, don't think the sort of whales that are in Passamaquada bay can be caught."

It was from Passamaquoddy that the first business letter extant of the company's correspondence was written by James Simonds to William Hazen on the 18th August, 1764. The business was then in an experimental stage, and Mr. Simonds in this letter writes:

"If you & Mr. Blodget think it will be best to carry on business largely at St. John's we must have another house with a cellar; the latter is now dug and stoned & will keep apples, potatoes & other things, that will not bear the frost, for a large trade; this building will serve as a house and store, the old store for a Cooper's shop. If the lime answers well we shall want 150 hogsheads with hoops and boards for heads; also boards for a house, some glass, bricks for chimney and hinges for two doors. I think the business at St. John's may be advantageous, if not too much entangled with the other. We can work at burning Lime, catching fish in a large weir we have built for bass up the river at the

place where we trade with the Indians, trade with the Soldiers and Inhabitants, etc. Next winter we can employ the oxen at sleding wood and lime stone, Mr. Middleton at making casks; don't think it best to keep any men at Passamaquada."

It was the intention of Simonds & White to bring the hands employed at Passamaquoddy to St. John in a sloop expected in the fall with goods and stores, but on the 16th December we find Mr. Simonds writing to Blodget & Hazen, "Have long waited with impatience for the arrival of the sloop; have now given her over for lost. All the hopes I have is that the winds were contrary in New England as they were here all the fall; that detained her until too late and you concluded not to send her. We had a fine prospect of a good trade and had the goods come in season should by this time have disposed of them to great advantage; but instead of that we have missed collecting the greater part of our Indian debts, as they expected us up the river and have not been here on that account. . . . I have not heard from Passamaquada for six weeks, but fear they have little or no provisions, and am sure they have no hay for a cow that is there. She being exceeding good, shall endeavor to save her life till you can send hay for her. I shall go there as soon as the weather moderates (it has been intensely cold lately) and employ the men there as well as I can, as they are confined there contrary to intention for the winter, and return here as soon as possible."

The non-arrival of provisions for the men and of hay for the oxen Mr. Simonds deploras as likely to overthrow their plans for the winter. They had intended to use the oxen to sled wood and lime-stone—a much easier way than carting in the summer.

The Company had formidable rivals at Passamaquoddy, for the next spring we find James Simonds telling Hazen & Jarvis, "There is such a number of traders at Passamaquoddy that I don't expect much trade there this spring: have prevailed with the Commandant at Fort Frederick to stop them going up this river: there has been no passing the falls till now (May 27th) by reason of the freshet. Shall go over this afternoon and proceed directly to Opaque, an Indian village eighty miles up the river."

Notwithstanding the favor shown them by the commandant of the garrison, Simonds & White found rivals in the Indian trade. Among the earliest were John Anderson and Captain Isaac Caton. The minutes of the council of Nova Scotia show that on August 9, 1763, license was granted Mr. Anderson to occupy 50 acres of any lands unappropriated on the St. John River, and under date June 7, 1765, we have the following:

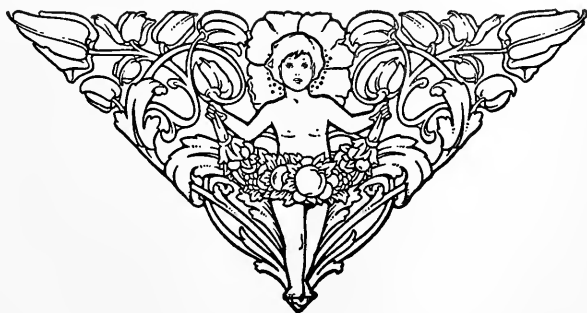
"License is hereby granted to John Anderson to traffick with the Tribes of Indians on St. John's River and in the Bay of Fundy, he conducting himself without Fraud or Violence and submitting himself to the observance of such regulations as may at any time hereafter be established for the better ordering of such commerce. This license to continue during pleasure."

Anderson selected as his location the site of Villebon's old fort at the mouth of the Nashwaak, where he obtained a grant of 1,000 acres and established a trading post convenient to the Indian village of Aukpaque, a few miles above. He gave to the place the name of Monckton which it retained for many years. He had the honor to being the first magistrate on the River St. John, his commission dating August 17, 1765..

Anderson obtained his goods and supplies from Boston. Early in 1768 he had the misfortune to lose a vessel laden with goods for the Indian trade. James Simonds mentions this in a letter to Hazen & Jarvis and remarks : "We imagine the loss of Mr. Anderson's vessel will cause more trade to come to us than we should have had if she had gone safe."

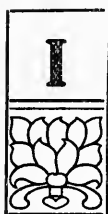
The Indians often came down to the mouth of the river to trade with Simonds & White, but were commonly saved the trouble, as the Company's schooners and sloops went up the river spring and fall with goods and supplies.

Captain Isaac Caton was granted a license to traffick with the Indians on St. John's River and the Bay of Fundy. He probably made his headquarters at the old French trading post on the Island of Emenenic, in Long Reach, of which he was a grantee and which has since been called Caton's Island.



## CHAPTER XV.

Indians and the Fur Trade — Rum Freely Used — Store Prices at Portland Point — A Contrast — St. John in 1764 and 1910 — Atherton at St. Anne's — Fishing — Lime Burning — A Slave — First Saw Mill — List of the Company's Effects.



IN their business at Portland Point Simonds and White kept four sets of accounts : one for the Indian trade, a second for their business with the white inhabitants, a third for that with their own employees, and a fourth for that with the garrison.

The writer of this book now has in his collection of historical papers a considerable number of account books in a very fair state of preservation, containing in part the transactions of the company during the years that they were in business in St. John. One of these, a book of nearly 100 pages ordinary foolscap size, with stout paper cover, contains the record of the initial transactions of the company at St. John a century and a half ago. At the top of the first page are the words.

“St. John's River, Day Book No. 1, 1764.”

The book is very creditably kept. The entries are in the hand writing of James White. The accounts during the continuance of the partnership were kept in New England currency or “Lawful money of Massachusetts.” The letters L. M. were frequently employed

to distinguish this currency from sterling money and Nova Scotia currency. The value of £ 1 sterling in Massachusetts currency was £1, 6s., 8d. It is a fact worthy of mention that the currency of Massachusetts was used in all ordinary business transactions on the River St. John down to the time of the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783. This shows how close were the ties that bound the pre-loyalist settlers of the province to New England, and it is scarcely a matter of surprise that during the Revolution the Massachusetts congress found many sympathizers on the River St. John.

While their accounts were kept according to the currency of New England, the amount of cash handled by Simonds and White was insignificant. For years they supplied the settlers on the river with such things as they required usually receiving their payment in furs and skins. In securing these the white inhabitants became such expert hunters and trappers as to arouse jealousy of the Indians. With the Indians the trade was almost entirely one of barter, the staple article being beaver skins.

The fur trade assumed large proportions at this period. The account books of Simonds and White, now in existence, do not contain a complete record of shipments made from St. John, but they show that during ten years of uninterrupted trade, from the time of their settlement at Portland Point to the out-break of the Revolution, they exported at least 40,000 beaver skins, 11,022 musquash, 6,050 marten, 870 otter, 258 fisher, 522 mink, 120 fox, 140 sable, 74 racoon, 67 loupcevrie, 8 wolferene, five bear, two Nova Scotia wolf, 50 caribou, 85 deer, and 1,113 moose, besides 2,265 lbs. of castor and 3,000 lbs. of feathers, the value of which according to invoice was

£11,295 or about \$40,000. The prices quoted are but a fraction of those of modern days and by comparison appear ridiculously small. Other traders were engaged in the fur trade on the Saint John River, for there was no monopoly of trade allowed by the British authorities. If then Simonds and White alone sent as many as 4,000 beaver skins to New England every year, in addition to those of other kinds, the fur trade of the river must have been of some consequence.

James White was the principal agent in bartering with the Indians and they had every confidence in his integrity. Three-fourths of their trade was in beaver skins. Mr. White was usually called by the Indians K'wabeet or the Beaver. It is said that in business with the Indians the fist of Mr. White was considered to weigh a pound and his foot two pounds both in buying and selling, but the same story is told of other Indian traders. The Indians were fond of finery and ornaments. Among the first articles sent by Samuel Blodget in 1764 were green, scarlet and blue plush breeches at a guinea each; blue gold laced jackets and scarlet gold laced jackets, £3 each; also spotted ermine jackets, ruffled shirts and gold laced beaver hats. These may seem extravagant articles for Indians to buy yet the chiefs and captains bought them and delighted to wear them on special occasions. It was customary in trading with the savages to take pledges from them, for the payment of their debts, such as silver trinkets, armclasps, medals, fuzees. In the autumn of 1777 a Yankee privateer from Machias, whose captain bore the singular name, A. Greene Crabtree, plundered Simonds & White's store at Portland Point and carried off a trunk full of Indian pledges. This excited the indignation of the Chiefs who

sent the following communication to Machias: "We desire you will return into the hands of Mr. White at Menaguashe the pledges belonging to us which were plundered last fall out of Mr. Hazen's store by A. Greene Crabtree, captain of one of your privateers; for if you don't send them we will come for them in a manner you won't like."

The goods kept in the store at Portland Point for the Indian trade included powder and shot for hunting, provisions, blankets and other "necessaries," and such articles as Indian needles, colored thread, beads of various colors, a variety of buttons — brass, silver plated, double-gilt, scarlet and blue mohair buttons — scarlet blue and red cloth, crimson broadcloth, red and blue stroud, silver and gold laced hats, gilt trunks, Highland garters, silver crosses, round silver brooches, etc., etc.

The old account books bear evidence of being well thumbed, for Indian debts were hard to collect and white men's debts were quite as hard to collect in ancient as in modern days. In point of fact the red man and the white man of the River St. John ran a close race in their respective ledgers, for in a statement of accounts rendered after the operations of the company had lasted rather more than two years, the debts due were as follows: From the English £607 11s. 9d. and from the Indians £615 7s. 9d. Old and thumb-worn as the account books are and written with ink that had often been frozen and with quill pens that often needed mending, they are extremely interesting relics of the past, and are deserving of a better fate than that which awaited them when by the merest accident they were rescued by the author from a dismal heap of rubbish.

In glancing over the pages of the old account books the first thing likely to attract attention is the extraordinary consumption of West India spirits and New England rum. This was by no means confined to the Company's laborers, for at that time the use of rum as a beverage was almost universal. It was dispensed as an ordinary act of hospitality and even the minister cheerfully accepted the proffered cup. It was used in winter to keep out the cold and in summer to keep out the heat. It was in evidence alike at a wedding or a funeral. No barn-raising or general muster was deemed to be complete without the jug, and in process of time the use of spirits was so habitual that Peter Fisher was able to quote statistics in 1824 to prove that the consumption of ardent liquors amounted to nearly twenty gallons per annum for every male person above sixteen years of age. While the use of rum may be regarded as universal, tobacco was not in very general use. The use of snuff, however, was quite common.

The company at Portland Point supplied the people of Maugerville as well as the settlers at the mouth of the river, and in the course of a few years the variety of articles kept in stock at the company's store increased surprisingly until it might be said they sold everything "from a needle to an anchor." The prices at which some of the staple articles were quoted appear in the foot note.\*

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\*Flour pr. bbl., £2 2 6; Indian corn pr. bushel, 5 shillings; potatoes do., 2s. 6d.; apples do., 2s. 6d.;

Butter pr. lb., 9d.; cheese pr. lb., 6d.; chocolate pr. lb., 1s.; tea per lb., 7s.; coffee per lb., 1s. 3d.; pepper pr. lb., 3s.; brown sugar 7d., per lb.; loaf sugar, 1s. 2d. per lb.; raisins, 9s. per lb.; tobacco, 7d. per lb.; salt, 10d. per peck;

Molasses, 2s. 6d. per gallon; New England rum, 1s. 6d. per quart; West India do., 2s. 6d. per quart;

Among articles in demand were fishing tackle, blue rattan and fear-nothing jackets, milled caps, woollen and check shirts, horn and ivory combs, turkey garters, knee buckles, etc. Among articles that strike us as novel are to be found tin candlesticks, brass door knobs, wool cards, whip-saws, "moggersons." The only books kept in stock were almanacks, psalters, spelling books and primers.

Still, though at first glance the variety seems greater than might have been expected, a little inspection will satisfy one that the life of that day was of extreme simplicity, luxuries were few and even the necessities of life sometimes scanty enough.

Nearly one hundred and fifty years have passed since James Simonds and James White set themselves down at Saint John Harbor as pioneers in trade, to face with indomitable energy and perseverance the difficulties of their situation. These were neither few nor small, but they were Massachusetts men and in their veins there flowed the blood of the Puritans. The determination

Beef, 4d. per lb.; pork, 6d. per lb.; veal, 3½d. per lb.; cider, 12s. to 18s. pr. bbl.

Boots, 20s.; men's shoes, 6s.; women's do, 5s.; men's pumps, 8s.; mittens, 1s. 6d.; hose, 4s.; beaver hat, 20s.; black silk handkerchief, 6s. 9d.; check handkerchief, 2s. 6d.;

Broadcloth, 10s. pr. yd.; red stroud, 8s. per yd.; scarlet German serge, 8s. per yd.; scarlet shalloon, 3s. 9d. per yd.; English duck, 1s. 9d. pr. yd.;

White blanket, 13s. 3d.; 1 oz. thread, 6d.; 1 doz. jacket buttons, 7½d.; pins, 1 M., 9d.

Axe, 6s. 3d.; knife, 1s.; board nails, 1s. 2d. per C.; ten penny nails, 50 for 8d.; double tens, 1s. 7d. per C.; shingle nails, 6d. per C.; 1 pane glass (7 by 9), 6d.; pewter porringer, 1s. 8d.; looking glass, 16s.;

Steel trap, 15s.; powder, 2s. 6d. per lb.; shot, 5d. per lb.; buckshot, 1s. 3d. per lb.; 6 flints, 6d.

that had enabled their progenitors to establish themselves upon the shores of the old Bay State upheld them in the scarcely less difficult task of creating for themselves a home upon the rocky hillsides that encircle the Harbor of St. John.

Today the old pioneers of 1764 would scarcely recognize their ancient landmarks. The rugged features of old Men-ah-quesk have in a great measure disappeared; valleys have been filled and hills cut down. The mill-pond where the old tide mill stood is gone and the Union depot with its freight sheds and maze of railway tracks occupies its place. The names of "Mill" street and "Pond" street alone remain to tell us of the past. The old grist mill near Lily Lake and the tide mill at the Marsh Bridge have long since passed away. Across the harbor no morning drum beat or bugle call is heard from old Fort Frederick's bastions. Little indeed remains today to indicate that so much history ever centred round that quiet spot. Yet here in the early days of Acadia La Tour and Charnisay were familiar figures and here Governor Villebon for a time held sway as lord of all Acadia. Here, from time to time, came Nicolas Denys, the Sieur de Martignon, the Chevalier Grand-fontaine, the Sieur de Soulanges, and other worthies of the French regime. Over the ashes of La Tour and Villebon, in the old French grave-yard, at the foot of King Street in Carleton, there pass to-day the feet of those whom they would have regarded as the sons of an alien race. Under the protection of Fort Frederick the settlement of the valley of the St. John began in the year 1762, and from the day that General Robert Monckton landed in 1758, English-speaking people have constantly resided upon the shores of the Harbor of

St. John. But curiously enough the site of the old French Fort at Portland Point\*, where stood the house in which James Simonds and James White lived in 1764, is today a green mound unoccupied by any building.

Could our old pioneers in trade revisit the scene of their labors they would hardly recognize their surroundings. Instead of rocks and crags, covered with spruce and cedar, and wide spreading mud flats at low tide, they would behold streets traversed by electric cars and pavements traversed by thousands of hurrying feet, bicycles and automobiles darting hither and thither, squares tastefully laid out and adorned with flowers, public buildings and residences of goodly proportions, and by no means devoid of beauty, wharves along the shores with ocean steamships at their side, grain elevators that receive the harvests of Canadian wheat fields two thousand miles away, palatial hotels opening their doors to guests from every land, institutions for the fatherless and the widow, the aged, the poor, the unfortunate, the sick the insane; churches with heaven directing spires, schools whose teachers are numbered by the hundred and pupils by the thousand, public libraries, courts of justice and public offices of nearly every description, business establishment whose agents find their way into every nook and corner of old-time Acadia, railways and steamboats that connect the city with all parts of the globe, splendid bridges that span the rocky gorge at the

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\*Dr. W. F. Ganong is strongly of the opinion that this was the site of the ancient Fort la Tour so valiently defended by Madame de la Tour against d'Aunay Charnisay. Dr. Ganong's argument will be found in his paper on the Site of Fort la Tour published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada for 1891.

mouth of St. John where twice in the course of every twenty-four hours the battle, old as the centuries, rages between the outpouring torrent of the mighty river and the inflowing tide of the bay.

Let us contrast Saturday night when St. John was young with one of modern date.

Saturday night in 1764—The sun sinks behind the hills and the glow of evening lights the harbor. At the landing place at Portland Point, one or two fishing boats are lying on the beach, and out a little from the shore a small square sterned schooner lies at her anchor. The natural lines of the harbor are clearly seen. In many places the forest has crept down nearly to the water's edge. Ledges of rock, long since removed, crop up here and there along the harbor front. The silence falls as the day's work is ended at the little settlement, and the sound of the waters rushing through the falls seems, in the absence of other sounds, unnaturally predominant. Eastward of Portland Point we see the crags and rocks of the future city of the Loyalists, their natural ruggedness in some measure hidden by the growth of spruce and cedar, while in the foreground lies the graceful curve of the "Upper Cove" where the forest fringes the water's edge. We may easily cross in the canoe of some friendly Indian and land where, ten years later, the Loyalists landed, but we shall find none to welcome us. The spot is desolate, and the stillness only broken by the occasional cry of some wild animal, the song of the bird in the forest and the ripple of waves on the shore.

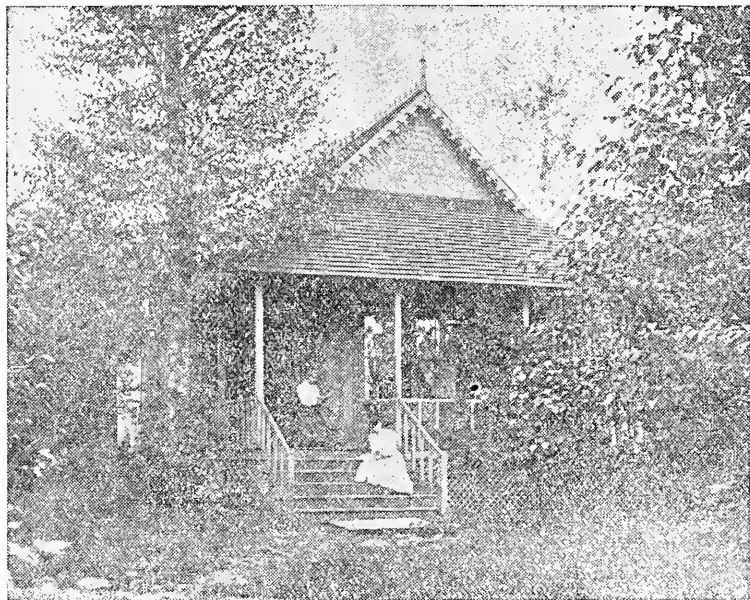
The shadows deepen as we return to the Point, and soon the little windows of the settler's houses begin to glow. There are no curtains to draw or blinds to pull down or shutters to close in these humble dwellings, but

the light, though unobstructed, shines feebly, for it is only the glimmer of a tallow candle or the firelight from the open chimney that dances on the pane.

In the houses of the dwellers at St. John in 1764, Saturday night differs little from any other night. The head of the house is not concerned about the marketing or telephoning to the grocer ; the maid is not particularly anxious to go "down town ;" the family bath tub may be produced (and on Monday morning it will be used for the family washing), but the hot water will not be drawn from the tap. The family retire at an early hour, nor are their slumbers likely to be disturbed by fire alarm or midnight train. And yet the men, we doubt not, were wont to meet on Saturday nights at the little store at the Point to compare notes and to talk over the few topics of interest in their monotonous lives. We seem to see the little coterie — nearly all of them engaged in the company's employ, mill hands, fishermen, lime-burners, laborers, while in a corner James White pores over his ledger posting his accounts by the light of his candle and now and again mending his goose-quill pen. But even at the store the cheerful company soon disperses, the early closing system evidently prevails, the men seek their several abodes and one by one the lights in the little windows vanish. There is only one thing to prevent the entire population being in good time for church on Sunday morning, and that is there is no church to attend.

Then and now ! We turn from our contemplation of Saturday night in 1764 to a modern Saturday night in St. John. No greater contrast can well be imagined. Where once were dismal shades of woods and swamps a moving gaily-chattering crowd throngs the walks of Union, King and Charlotte streets. The feeble

glimmer of the tallow candle in the windows of the houses at Portland Point has given place to the blaze of hundreds of electric lights that shine far out to sea, twinkling like bright stars in the distance, and reflected from the heavens, serving to illuminate the country for miles around. Our little knot of villagers in the



A COTTAGE OF TODAY.

olden days used to gather in their one little store to discuss the day's doing; small was the company, and narrow their field of observation; and their feeble gossip is today replaced by the rapid click of the telegraph instrument, the rolling of the steam-driven printing press and the cry of the newsboy at every

corner ; the events of the world are proclaimed in our streets almost as soon as they occur.

And yet from all the luxury and ease, as well as from the anxiety and care of modern days, we try sometimes to escape to get a little nearer to the heart of nature, and we adopt a life of rural simplicity, not far removed from that which once prevailed at Portland Point, content in some little cottage, remote from the hurry and din of the city to spend the days of summer time.

Simonds and White did not find the Indian trade entirely to their liking and after three years experience they wrote to Hazen and Jarvis, "The Indian debts we cannot lessen, being obliged to give them new credit as a condition of their paying their old debts. They are very numerous at this time but have made bad hunts ; we have got a share of their peltry, as much as all the others put together, and hope soon to collect some more. There is scarcely a shilling of money in the country. Respecting goods we think it will be for our advantage not to bring any Toys and Trinkets (unnecessary articles) in sight of the Indians, and by that means recover them from their bankruptcy. They must have provisions and coarse goods for the winter, and if we have a supply of those articles, by keeping a store here and up the River we make no doubt of having most of the trade. Shall have a store ready for September next, and hope to have it finished by the last of that month."

The idea of having a store up the river evidently was to prevent the diversion of their Indian trade to the rival post that had been recently established by John Anderson at the mouth of the Nashwaak. The correspondence of Simonds & White with Hazen & Jarvis

shows that Anderson was a formidable competitor in this line of business.

The store was built at St. Anne's, but a few years later it was carried away by one of those periodical ice-jams for which that vicinity has been noted from time immemorial. Another store was built and Benjamin Atherton placed in charge of it. In addition to trade with the Indians and Acadians he did business with some of the English settlers under the name and title of Atherton & Co. Furs and produce were frequently transported from St. Anne's to St. John, in summer in gondolas and in the winter on the ice by horse and sled. Atherton's store stood at the upper end of St. Anne's plain near the site of Government House (Fredericton) where some land had been cleared by the French. The position of a trader on the outskirts of civilization and in the vicinity of the largest Indian village on the Saint John required tact and courage, but Mr. Atherton was equal to the emergency. He was a man of ability and good education, and filled the office of Clerk of the Peace for the County of Sunbury, which at this time included nearly all of New Brunswick.

In addition to extensive shipments of furs and peltry Simonds and White sent to New England and the West Indies large quantities of pollock, mackerel and codfish taken in the Bay. The gasperaux fishery was also an important factor in their trade and in the seven years previous to the Revolutionary war they shipped to Boston 4,000 barrels of gasperaux valued at about \$12,000. They also shipped quantities of bass, shad, salmon and sturgeon. Perhaps their profits would have been considerably greater had not many of the men, who at other times were in their employ, engaged in fishing



ICE JAM NEAR GOVERNMENT HOUSE IN 1902.



ventures on their own account. The community was not an ideal one for Mr. Simonds writes: "In the spring we must go into the Weirs every tide to keep our men from selling bait to the fishermen outside for rum, which would not only be attended with loss of the fish so sold, but of the men's time who would drink so to excess as not to be able to do anything."

During the earlier years of the partnership attention was given to deep water fishing, and large quantities of cod and pollock were taken in the Bay of Fundy and at Passamaquoddy. The company, as already stated, seem at the outset to have regarded their trading and fishing station on Indian Island as of equal importance with that at St. John, but the multitude of their rivals led them gradually to concentrate their business at St. John and to abandon the Passamaquoddy region. Deep water fishing was discontinued and greater attention paid to the shore fisheries in which weirs were used to great advantage. The weir fishery at St. John is as old at least as the days of Charles la Tour for the French historian, Nicolas Denys, in describing the harbour writes: "On the same side as the island [Partridge Island] there are large marshes or flats which are covered at high tide; the beach is of muddy sand which makes a point which passed there is a cove [now called the mill-pond] which makes into the said marshes, of which the entrance is narrow, and there the late *Sieur Monsieur de la Tour* caused to be made a weir in which were caught a great number of *gasperaux*, which were salted for winter. He several times caught there so great a quantity that it was necessary to break the weir and push them back into the sea, as otherwise they would have given a stench to the weir and thus have

ruined it. There were found here sometimes also salmon, alewives and bass."

The importance of the shore fishery on the west side of the harbour is further shown by James Simonds' statement, in the summer of 1768, that on the withdrawal of the garrison of Fort Frederick he accepted the post of care-taker, adding "I don't know but that I must reside in the garrison, but the privilege of the fisheries on that side of the river and the use of the king's boats will be more than an equivalent for the inconvenience."

The lime industry was another matter which engaged the early attention of the company. The abundance and excellence of the limestone at the mouth of the river and in the vicinity attracted the attention of the early explorers, and the rock had been quarried before Simonds and White engaged in lime burning. Their first kiln was built behind the store and dwellings at Portland Point near the foot of Fort Howe Hill. Five months after the arrival of his party at St. John, James Simonds wrote to Samuel Blodget, from Halifax: "I have been with the King's chief Mason; have shewn him a sample of our lime; he likes it well and gives me encouragement that he will take all of me that he wants either for public or private use (he is the only dealer in town) at a rate that will net at St. John's three dollars or more pr. hogshead."

The non-arrival of provisions for the men and of hay for the oxen interfered greatly with the work of the first winter. Mr. Simonds intended to use his oxen to sled wood and limestone, as an easier way than carting in the summer; he writes: "We have stone dug for 500 hogsheads of lime and near wood enough cut to burn it; this must now be left till carting and we must shift as well as we can to employ our men so as not to

have them run us in debt ; can think of nothing better than to make a resolute push up the river with the men, employ some of them at making lumber, others at clearing land and fitting it for grain in the Spring."

In connection with the lime trade several coopers were sent from Newburyport by Hazen & Jarvis to make the hogsheads needed for shipping. As the staves had to be shaven by hand one hogshead was considered all that a cooper could be expected to make in a day. With the view of securing a more serviceable and reliable class of workers the company now began to take into their employ, married men with families for whose accommodation they built comfortable log houses.

And still there were disappointments for Mr. Simonds writes, "Old Abbot ( the cooper ) did not do one day's work for sixty days after his wife arrived ; no dependence can be placed on him, and as Stevens goes a fishing in the Spring on his own account we shall want another cooper and three labourers. It will make a material difference if these men are of a tractable disposition."

The lime manufactured at St. John was shipped to Halifax, Boston and the West Indies, and a cargo was even sent to Newfoundland. On another occasion Mr. Simonds wrote, " We have promised 30 to 40 hogsheads Lime to Mr. Best of Halifax and hourly expect a vessel for it, and have encouragement of a contract for the King's works there ; expect nothing but to disappoint him as that rascal negro West cannot be flattered or drove to do one fourth of a man's work ; shall give him a strong dose on Monday morning which will make him better or worse, no dependence can be put on him."

Presumably the negro referred to was a slave, and if so the first though by no means the last of that class in the province.

About two years after their arrival Simonds and White built a tide mill at the outlet of the old mill pond, not far from the entrance to the present railway station, and from the day the first log was sawn at this mill to the present time lumber has been one of the staple exports of St. John. Primitive as the style of this saw-mill undoubtedly must have been, difficulty was found in getting competent men to run it. James Simonds wrote to Hazen & Jarvis in June, 1767, "the men that undertook the weirs were very slow and unfaithful, and not only neglected the fisheries but the Mill also, for which reason we have not a full load for the Sloop. The Mill we have not been nor shall be able to keep at work without more and better hands; have four less than we ought to have for different branches of work."

William Hazen was afraid that the business of the first year had been unprofitable, and at the end of the year he called for a settlement of accounts in order to find out the exact state of affairs. James Simonds wrote: "We are sensible of the necessity of settling our accounts soon, but have always been obliged to work so much abroad as not to be able to have our books posted up. The necessity of taking an exact account of all goods on hand and making an exact computation of the cost of all buildings and works cannot be hurried over and would require time. We could have had all those things ready, but must have neglected completing preparations for the winter's work, which we think would be far greater damage to us than the accounts remaining unfinished for a few months, and for us to finish them in the winter evenings."

Doubtless the winter evenings were entirely at their disposal. There were no social engagements to fill, no

societies to attend, no places of amusement to while away the hours. The church, the lodge room, the club were reserved for the coming generations. Even the satisfaction to be derived from good general reading was wanting for an inventory of household effects, made after ten years had expired, shows that Mr. Simonds owned a Bible and a Prayer Book and Mr. White a Bible and a copy of Watt's psalms and hymns, and the only other book of which mention can be found is an almanac. However it would seem that one of the partners at least was fond of reading, for Samuel Blodget wrote in a letter to James White, "I confess I was a little surprised at your opinion of Roderick Random, for it is allowed by all that I ever heard judge of it, that it is a well wrote Novell."

More than two years expired before there was a general statement of the Company's accounts. The inventory of their effects at St. John included the following items :

### *Buildings.*

1 Dwelling House 19 by 35, part finished .....	£90	0s.	0d.
1 Building 16 by 40, Rough boarded, improved for Cooper's Shop & Kitchen .....	15	0	0
1 Log Store 20 by 30, without floor.....	20	0	0
1 Barn 24 by 35.....	16	6	0
1 Log House 14 by 18, occupied by Black.....	6	12	0
1 House 16 by 20, occupied by Bradley.....	7	10	0
1 Well 15 feet deep.....	1	10	0
1 Necessary House .....	1	10	0

### *Animals.*

8 Oxen worth at St. John.....	60	0	0
3 Cows .....	14	8	0
1 Pair 3 year old steers.....	9	0	0
1 Bull 54 s., 1 do 30s.,.....	4	4	0
6 Sheep @ 18s., 7 Hogs @ 16s.....	11	0	0

*Fishing and Lumbering.*

1	Burch Canoe.....	£1	0s.	0d.
1	Wherry .....	1	0	0
2	Large Seines.....	14	0	0
1	Gondola.....	10	0	0
	Wire 60s., Spruce Logs at the Water 80s.....	7	0	0
84	Pine logs at the falls worth.....	22	8	0
119	Pine logs scattered in ye River @ 3s.....	17	7	0
1	Set mill irons.....	7	0	0

*Lime Business.*

1	Lime Kiln.....	14	0	0
160	Hogsheads Lime-stone at ye Kiln @ 5s, 4d.....	42	13	4
50	Hogsheads at the Quarry dug @ 1s.....	2	10	0
50	Cords wood at Kiln @ 3s. 6d.....	8	15	0
80	Cords wood in ye Woods @ 1s. 6d.....	7	6	8
1	Cart 100s., 2 Sleds, 18s.....	5	18	0
1	Drag 9s., 1 Harrow 15s.....	1	4	0
2	Iron Bars 20s., 1 Crow-bar 10s.....	1	10	0
3	Stone Hammers @ 7s.....	1	1	0
7	Chains .....	4	10	0
1	Beetle 1s. 6d.. 2 Wedges 3s.,.....	4	6	
1	Set Cooper's Tools.....	2	5	0
2M	Staves shaved and joined.....	4	16	0

*Implements and Tools.*

2	Carpenter's adzes @ 7s., 2 drills @ 6s.....	1	0	0
1	Broad Axe 12s., 6 Narrow Axes @ 6s.....	2	8	0
15	Old Axes @ 3s.,.....	2	5	0
	Whipsaw 40s., 1 Cross cut do 30s.....	3	10	0
4	Augers 12s., 3 chisels 6s.....	18	0	
2	Steel plated handsaws @ 8s.....	16	0	
2	Nail hammers 3s., 1 plough 18s.....	1	1	0
2	Scythes @ 6s., 2 pick axes @ 5s.....	1	4	0
2	Iron Squares, 8s., 3 pitch forks 12s.....	1	0	0
7	Hoes @ 2s., 8d.....	18	8	
4	Spades @ 6s. 8d., 3 Shovels @ 3s.....	1	15	8
4	Pairs Snow Shoes @ 7s. 6d.....	1	10	0

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£451 4s. 10d.

The list of household goods and chattels, the property of Simonds and White, was indeed a meagre one. The more common and necessary articles of furniture, such as bedsteads, tables, and benches, were probably manufactured on the premises by means of the carpenter's axe, adze, hammer and saw. In addition to their small supply of bedding they had 6 camp chairs, 1 desk, 1 writing desk, 1 lamp, 4 iron candlesticks, 1 ink stand. Stoves were not in use at that time, and the old fashioned open chimney served both for heating and cooking. The list of their kitchen utensils included 1 pair dogs ( or fire-irons ), shovel and tongs, beam scale with weights, coffee-mill, tea-chest, chafing dish, cullender, pail, brass kettle, 2 tin kettles, 2 tea kettles, 2 frying pans, 4 iron pots and small pots and dippers. Their dishes included pewter plates, platters and porringers, 2 metal tea-pots, a small assortment of stoneware, 3 china cups and saucers and 2 punch bowls. Their cutlery was of the most limited variety. The total value of their household articles was only £ 33. 17, 5. Is it any wonder that James Simonds should have observed with grim humor, that so far as their circumstances at this time were concerned " gentility is out of the question ? "

The goods in the company's store were valued at £ 613. The inventory shows a considerable variety of articles, yet the many deficiencies indicate that the " simple life " was most decidedly in vogue on the River St. John at this period.

We shall have more to say in connection with the operations of Messrs. Simonds and White shortly but must now turn our attention to the progress of events elsewhere.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Bounds of Old Township of Maugerville—Names of the Grantees—  
First Census—Spring Freshets—Indian Neighbors—Locations of  
First Settlers—DesBarres and Joshua Mauger—Way of Living—  
Church Covenant—First Ministers—Church Moved Five Miles on  
the Ice.



THE township of Maugerville, as described in the grant made under the great seal of Nova Scotia, October 31, 1765, began at a Pine Tree on a point of land a little below the Island called Manger's Island, extending  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles up the river with nearly an equal depth.

It embraced the principal parts of the parishes of Maugerville and Sheffield, including Oromocto Island and the Island off "Wind-mill Point" called Middle Island. In the grant the Rights or Shares were fixed at 500 acres but the surveyor-general of Nova Scotia, Charles Morris, says that it was intended that the grantees should have 1,000 acres each as being the first adventurers on the river and on account of the large proportion of sunken lands and lakes within the limits of the township.

At the time the grant was being made out the obnoxious Stamp Act was coming into force in America and the Crown Land Office at Halifax was besieged with people pressing for their grants in order to save the stamp duties. In the hurry and confusion existing Mr. Morris says that the shares of the township were inadvertently fixed at 500 acres each, whereas his intention had been to lay out one hundred farm lots each

forty rods wide and extending one mile into the country, and that each grantee should receive the balance of his 1,000 acres in the subsequent division of the rest of the township. The Maugerville settlers were glad to accept whatever was allotted them in view of the fact that they had been so near losing the whole by the decision of the government to reserve the lands for the disbanded regulars of the British army.

By the terms of the grant it was provided that those who failed to settle on their lots, with proper stock and materials for improvement before the last day of November, 1767, should forfeit all claim to the lands.

The township was divided into one hundred lots, but only sixty-four grantees are named in the grant made in 1765. Two other grants of land in the township were made previous to the arrival of the Loyalists, one in 1770 and the other early in 1783.

Nearly all the first settlers in the township of Maugerville were from Massachusetts, the majority from the single county of Essex. Thus the Burpees were from Rowley, the Perleys from Boxford, the Esteys from Newburyport, while other families were from Haverhill, Ipswich, Gloucester, Salem and other towns of this ancient county which antedates all others in Massachusetts but Plymouth. These settlers were almost exclusively of Puritan stock and members of the Congregationalist churches of New England.

The surnames in the list which follow will seem wonderfully familiar to the residents on the St. John River where their descendants form a large and influential portion of the community.

The list of the grantees alphabetically arranged, includes the following :

Benjamin Atherton,  
Jacob Barker,  
Jacob Barker, jr.,  
Thomas Barker,  
Richard Barlow,  
Benjamin Brawn,  
David Burbank,  
Joseph Buber,  
Jeremiah Hurpee,  
Jonathan Burpee,  
James Chadwell,  
Thomas Christy,  
Joseph Clark,  
Widow Clark,  
Edward Coy,  
Moses Davis,  
Jos. F. W. Desbarres,  
Enoch Dow,  
Joseph Dunphy,  
John Estey,  
Richard Estey,  
Richard Estey, jr.  
Zebulun Estey,  
Joseph Garrison,  
Beamsley P. Glasier,  
William Harris,  
Thomas Hart,  
George Hayward,  
Nehemiah Hayward,  
Jeremiah Howland,  
Ammi Howlet,  
Samuel Hoyt,  
Daniel Jewett,  
Richard Kimball,  
John Larlee,  
Joshua Mauger,  
Peter Moores,  
William McKeen,  
Elisha Nevers,  
Jabez Nevers.

Phinehas Nevers,  
Samuel Nevers,  
Nathaniel Newman,  
Daniel Palmer,  
Moses Palmer,  
Jonathan Parker,  
Francis Peabody,  
Oliver Peabody,  
Richard Peabody,  
Samuel Peabody,  
Stephen Peabody,  
Asa Perley,  
Israel Perley,  
Oliver Perley,  
Humphrey Pickard,  
Moses Pickard,  
Hugh Quinton,  
Nicholas Rideout,  
Thomas Rous,  
John Russell,  
Ezekiel Saunders,  
William Saunders,  
Gervas Say,  
John Shaw,  
Hugh Shirley,  
James Simonds,  
Isaac Stickney,  
Jedediah Stickney,  
John Smith,  
Jonathan Smith,  
Charles Stephens,  
Samuel Tapley,  
Giles Tidmarsh, jr.  
Samuel Upton,  
James Vibart,  
John Wasson,  
Matthew Wasson,  
John Whipple,  
Jonathan Whipple,  
Samuel Whitney.

In his lecture on New Brunswick history, delivered in 1840, Moses H. Perley states that the Maugerville township was settled by 200 families, comprising about 800 persons, who came from Massachusetts in four vessels. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Mr. Perley greatly over-estimates the number of the original settlers. We have every reason to believe that the population of the township continued steadily to increase and when some three years later (December 16, 1766) a census was made for the government of Nova Scotia, there were in township 77 men, 46 women, 72 boys and 66 girls, a total of 261 souls; and it may be added that 17 new settlers had arrived and 14 children were born, during the year while the number of deaths was but three. That the new inhabitants were anxious to fulfil the conditions of their grants is shown by the fact that they possessed 10 horses, 78 oxen and bulls, 145 cows, 156 young cattle, 376 sheep and 181 swine. Their crop for the year included: Wheat, 599 bushels; Rye, 1,866 do.; Beans, 145 do.; Oats, 57 do.; Pease, 91 do.; Barley, 38 do. Some attempt had also been made at raising flax and hemp. A grist-mill and saw-mill had been built and two sloops were owned by the settlers. The fact that new settlers continued to arrive shows that the outlook was regarded as promising.

Maugerville was visited by Hon. Charles Morris, the surveyor general of Nova Scotia, in 1767, and it is not improbable the census taken by order of Lieut. Governor Francklin was made under his supervision. Mr. Morris was evidently surprised at the progress that had been made, and in one of his reports he says :

“Opposite to Oromocto River, upon the northerly side of the River St. John’s, is the English settlement of

disbanded soldiers from New England, consisting of about eighty families, who have made great Improvements, and are like to make an established Settlement there. And by some tryals they have made of hemp upon the intervale it succeeded beyond their expectation. I measured myself Hemp that was nine feet high, that had not come to its full growth in the latter end of July. They generally have about twenty bushels of Corn and about twenty bushels of Wheat from an acre of land, that was only cleared of its woods and harrowed, without ever having a Plow in it. When I was on the River last year, I saw myself eighty bushels of Indian Corn raised from one acre of land that had been ploughed and properly managed. I would observe that the Corn raised on this River is not the same kind as the Corn in New England; neither the climate or soil would be suitable to it; they get their seed from Canada and they sow it in rows about three feet distant as we do Pease in our gardens; it takes about a bushel to sow an acre; the ears grow close to the ground as thick as they can stick one by another, pointing outwards like a *Cheveaux de Frise* upon each side of the rows; the richness of the soil, the manner of sowing it and of its growing, may account very easily for its producing so much to the acre. Some of the old French Inhabitants of the River have informed me that they have raised, in a seasonable year, near one hundred bushels of Indian Corn per acre."

The alluvial character of the soil of Maugerville, its freedom from stone and from dense forest growth, no doubt attracted the first English settlers and decided them in the choice of their location, just as the same features attracted the brothers d'Amours and others

nearly a century before. The French settlers too, recorded as their principal drawback the losses and annoyances consequent upon the inundation of their fields and premises by the spring freshets. A short experience convinced the English settlers that these complaints were well founded.

As Maugerville divides with Portland Point the honor of being the first permanent English settlement at the River St. John, it is proper to describe in some detail the experience of its founders. They were a sturdy and adventurous race. The great majority had seen active service in the "old French war," some of them had fought under Wolfe at the taking of Quebec. The Indian war-cry was a sound not unfamiliar to their ears, and their interview with the savages of Aukpaque upon their arrival, taught them the dangers of their situation. It really required more hardihood to plunge into the wilderness than to settle under the protection of Fort Frederick at the river's mouth.

The proximity of the Indian town of Aukpaque, a few miles above, probably induced the majority of the Maugerville people to settle in the lower part of the township. At any rate for some years no one resided farther up the river than lot No. 57, about five miles below the Nashwaak, where lived the Widow Clark, a resolute old dame whom nothing could dismay.

It is interesting to note that Simonds and White contemplated the erection of a Truck-house at Maugerville for their Indian trade, and a frame was prepared, but before it was raised some difficulties arose between the Indians and the Whites and the matter was deferred for a year or two. The frame was then sent up the river in the sloop "Bachelor" and landed on lot No. 66,

belonging to Mr. Simonds, "near the then upper settlement of Maugerville." This was the only place available as none of the settlers desired to have the Truck-house nearer. However the carpenters found the frame so warped as not to be worth setting up and the project was abandoned.

The first band of settlers came to Maugerville in 1763, in small vessels hired by themselves. From time to time the colony received additions from New England. The later comers usually took passage in some of the vessels owned by Messrs. Hazen, Simonds and White, which furnished the readiest means of communication. Interesting items in the account books kept by Simonds and White at their store at Portland Point tell of the coming of the Maugerville settlers. For example Captain Francis Peabody is charged as follows under date January 15, 1765 :

To passage in schooner of 4 Passengers from New England at 12s	£2	8s	0d
Freight of 9 Heiffers at 12s.....	5	8	0
Club of Cyder for 5 men at 13s. 6d. each.....	3	7	6
5 Tons of Hay for cattle on passage.....	10	0	0
Freight of sheep.....	3	6	0

In the same schooner came Jacob Barker, jun., Oliver Perley, Zebulon Estey, Humphrey Pickard and David Burbank, each of whom paid twelve shillings passage money from Newburyport to St. John and 13s. 6d. for "his club of Cyder" on the voyage. David Burbank brought with him a set of Mill irons, which is suggestive of enterprise, but his stay was brief, for on the 20th April, 1767, he sold his land (about five miles below the Nashwaak) to William Brawn, the son of an original grantee of the township. The deed was acknowledged before John Anderson, Justice of the Peace, and is the first deed recorded on the River St. John.

The names of the majority of the Maugerville grantees appear in the account books kept by Simonds and White at their store at Portland Point and not a little information of interest to their descendants is to be found in their faded pages.

The importance of the early erection of a mill for grinding their corn and a saw mill to provide the lumber needed for their houses was fully realized by those who undertook the settlement of Maugerville, and when the signers under Captain Francis Peabody met at Andover in April, 1762, previous to their leaving Massachusetts, it was agreed that each should pay six shillings towards the erection of a mill in the township. The streams in Maugerville are so inconsiderable that it may be presumed some difficulty was found in carrying this agreement into effect, and the fact that in the grant of 1765 the point opposite Middle Island is called "Wind-mill Point" seems to indicate that their grain was ground at the first by a wind-mill. Later, however, Richard Estey and Thomas Barker built a saw-mill on a small creek in the same locality, which they sold in 1779 to James Woodman, and it sawed a good deal of the lumber, boards, etc., used by the Loyalists in building their houses at St. John in the summer of 1783.

The limits of the township of Maugerville are indicated by the dotted lines on the plan. In early days the principal section of the township was what is now the parish of Sheffield. In the original survey of the township, lot No. 1 is opposite Middle Island, and the lots below are numbered in order to 39 which is at the lower boundary of the township. The numbers which follow commence at the upper line of the township and continue down the river to Middle Island where the last lot, No. 100, adjoins lot No. 1.

The locations occupied by the early grantees may be ascertained by reference to the accompanying plan.

Mauger's Island and the first ten lots above the lower boundary were granted to Joshua Mauger, in recognition of his services to the settlers, we may suppose. Just above were the lots of Gervas Say, Nehemiah Hayward, John Russel, Samuel Upton, Zebulon Estey, John Estey, Richard Estey and Edward Coy.

At the head of Mauger's Island were the lots of Matthew Wasson, Samuel Whitney and Samuel Tapley.

Between Mauger's Island and Middle Island were the lots of Jeremiah Burpee, Jonathan Burpee, Jacob Barker, Daniel Jewett, Ezekiel Saunders, Humphrey Pickard, Moses Pickard, Jacob Barker, jr., Isaac Stickney and Jonathan Smith.

Opposite Middle Island, in order ascending, were Thomas Barker, John Wasson, Daniel Palmer, Richard Kimball, Joseph Garrison, Samuel Nevers, Peter Mooers, Richard Estey, jr., Jabez Nevers, Enoch Dow and Hugh Quinton.

Between Middle and Oromocto Islands were Thomas Christie, Elisha Nevers, Jedediah Stickney, Stephen Peabody, Capt. Francis Peabody and William McKeen.

Opposite Oromocto Island were Israel Perley (at the foot of the Island), Lt. Col. Beamsley P. Glasier, John Whipple, Nathaniel Rideout, Capt. Francis Peabody, Alexander Tapley, Phineas Nevers, Joseph Dunphy, William Harris, Ammi Howlet, Samuel Peabody and Oliver Peabody.

Above Oromocto Island the lots of Asa Perley, Oliver Perley, George Munro, James Simonds, Joseph Buber, Joseph Shaw, Benjamin Brawn, Daniel Burbank, Thomas Hartt and the Widow Clark. Thence to the



PLAN OF MAUGERVILLE, INCLUDING SHEFFIELD.

upper boundary of the township, a distance of two miles, there were at first no settlers, but in the course of time Richard Barlow, Nehemiah Beckwith, Benjamin Atherton, Jeremiah Howland and others took up lots.

Several of the grantees of Maugerville were non-residents, among them Joseph Frederick Wallet Des Barres and Joshua Mauger. Des Barres served with distinction under Wolfe at Quebec, and afterwards made some notable charts of the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia and of the Bay of Fundy. His labors extended over several years. Some of the results attained are to be seen in the three huge volumes of the Atlantic Neptune in the Crown Land office in Fredericton. In 1784 he was Lieutenant-Governor of Cape Breton, and later Lieut.-Governor of Prince Edward Island. He died in Halifax in 1824 at the great age of 103 years, and was honored with a state funeral. Joshua Mauger was an English merchant, who came to America as a contractor under government for furnishing supplies to the army at Louisburg. He went to Halifax, soon after the founding of that place in 1749, where he acted as agent for victualling the navy. He accumulated much property there and established shops at Pisiquid and Mines — or, as the places are now called, Windsor and Horton — where he sold goods and spirits to the French and Indians. Having acquired a competency he returned to England in 1761 and the next year was elected to Parliament. His services as agent of Nova Scotia were important and were fittingly acknowledged by the legislature, which in 1766 presented him with a handsome piece of plate as a testimonial of their appreciation of his “zeal and unwearied application” in behalf of the interests of the province. Joshua Mauger rented his lands in Sheffield to tenants at a yearly rental

of £3 for each lot. Manger's Island he sold to Colonel Thomas Gilbert, a loyalist of Taunton, Massachusetts. The Colonel's son, Thomas Gilbert, jr., settled on the island and built a fine house and a large barn 80 feet by 34, said to have been, at the time of its erection, the best in the province. He wrote a letter to one of his brothers, who had remained in Massachusetts, greatly praising his situation at the River St. John. From this letter the following passage is quoted :

“I wonder you don't come yourself or send some of your family to help us enjoy this fine country. We feel no war nor pay any tax. Our land brings forth abundantly ; it is almost incredible to see the produce ; it makes little odds when you plant or sow, at harvest time you will have plenty. This last spring was late, the water was not off so that I could plant till the 21st of June and so till the 26th we planted, and you never saw so much corn in any part of the States to the acre as I have got, and wheat and everything to the greatest perfection. I wonder how you and my friends can prefer digging among the stones and paying rates to an easy life in this country. Last year I sold beef, pork and mutton, more than I wanted for my family, for £300 besides two colts for £40 apiece. A few days ago I sold four colts before they were broke for £110 and I have sixteen left. I have a fine stock of cattle and sheep ; butter and cheese is as plenty here as herrings are at Taunton — a tenant lives better here than a landlord at Berkley. I am blest with the best neighbors that ever drew breath, they are made of the same stuff that our forefathers were that first settled New England . . . . I live under the protection of the King, and am stationed under his laws on this Island, the finest farm in the

Province. I don't intend to weigh my anchor nor start from this till I have orders from the Governor of all things, then I hope to obey the summons with joy and gladness, with great expectation to meet you in Heaven, where I hope to rest."

Mr. Gilbert evidently had determined to boom the attractions of the River St. John to the utmost of his ability. At the time he writes the country had already made considerable strides and the comforts and, to some extent, the luxuries of life were beginning to be enjoyed, but in the early days of the settlement all was very different. For years there were very few framed dwellings, nearly all the settlers living in log houses. As late as 1783 there were in Gagetown, Burton, and at St. Anne's about 76 houses that were occupied by English inhabitants, and all but nine were log buildings. The proportion of framed dwellings in Maugerville was little better, the majority being log houses.

Horses were few and nearly all the ordinary farm work was done by oxen. It is doubtful if any of the settlers owned a carriage, wagon or sleigh. Carts were generally used in summer and sleds in winter. Some of the men owned saddles, of which there was much borrowing, and there were a few pillions for the ladies. Travelling in the summer time on land was either on horseback or afoot, for the roads were too bad to admit of the use of wheeled vehicles.

All the cooking was done at old-fashioned fireplaces and the utensils included a gridiron, toasting iron, frying pan, iron kettle and a number of pots and pans. The dishes used in the farm house were mostly of pewter and their number limited.

A broadcloth coat or a beaver hat was a valuable asset which might be handed down to the second or even the third generation. A decent broadcloth suit would cost a man as much as he could earn in three months at the current rate of wages, after paying his board; consequently the early settler did not often indulge in the luxury of a new suit. Leather breeches were commonly worn, and from their lasting qualities were an economical garment.

The money handled by the early settlers was quite insignificant; nearly all transactions were of the nature of barter. Corn and furs were the staple articles of trade. The value of corn varied considerably according to the season, from 4 shillings to 8 shillings a bushel, the average rate 5 to 6 shillings. Half a bushel of corn was the equivalent of a week's board. The ordinary rate of farm wages was 2s. a day except for such work as mowing, framing, hoeing corn, and raking hay, for which the rate was 2s. 6d. a day. The wages of a woman servant were 10s. a month and as all articles of clothing were very dear compared with modern prices, they became excessively so when the rate of wages was taken into account. It took a whole month's wages to purchase a pair of stays and two months wages to buy a gown. A pair of silk mits cost 5s. 6d. and a lawn handkerchief 6s. 6d. Calico was charged as high as 6s. a yard and cotton wool at 6s. 6d. per lb. As a rule everything that had to be purchased out of a store was dear, while the prices of country produce were exactly the reverse. Butter sold as low as 6d. per lb.; lamb at 2½d. per lb.; beef, 1½ to 3d. per lb.; geese at 3s. each; fowls 1s.; potatoes 1s. 3d. a bushel. The school master in those days had little encouragement. One of the

earliest school masters of Maugerville, David Burpee, kept school one winter, receiving four shillings a month for each pupil. The tuition fees were paid in a great variety of ways; in work, in grain, leather, musquash skins, rum, hauling hay and making shoes; he only handled 10s. in cash for his entire winter's work.

The ordinary life of the settlers at this time was narrow and monotonous. There was little reading, for books and papers were rarely seen in their houses. On Sundays they attended religious services held at the houses most convenient for the purpose, and in winter there was some social visiting.

There were of course many additions to the Maugerville colony as well as some removals in the years that followed the arrival of the founders. It was quite a common occurrence for an intending settler to leave his family in New England until he had succeeded in making a small clearing and had built a log house for their accommodation, and a hovel for such animals as he chose to bring with him. This in some measure explains the fact that while according to the census of 1766 there were 77 men in Maugerville there were only 46 women.

Most of the live stock for the Maugerville people was shipped from Newburyport to St. John in the vessels of Hazen, Simonds and White. One of the first horses in the settlement was owned by Ammi Howlet, who paid £2 as freight for the animal in a sloop that arrived in May, 1765. Israel Kinney was probably the first blacksmith in the community and Phinehas Nevers the first physician.

Of the 261 souls who comprised the population of the township when the first enumeration of the inhabitants was made, at the close of the year 1766, all were born

in America save ten Irish, six English, four Scotch and six Germans. There were fresh arrivals the following spring. Some of these came from Newburyport in the schooner Eunice. This little vessel had quite a number of passengers in her opening voyage of the season, including James Simonds, Moses Coburn, Oliver Peabody, Alexander Tapley and Stephen Hovey, but the voyage was of special interest from the fact that there was on board a bride of sixteen years of age, the lately wedded wife of James Simonds, formerly Hannah Peabody. The Eunice had a fine passage and arrived at St. John on the 26th of April.

A curious incident is recorded in the old court records of the county of Sunbury in connection with Alexander Tapley, who was a passenger in the Eunice. It seems that having been appointed constable he declined to qualify and take the oath of office and in consequence was summoned on the 20th May, 1774, to appear before Israel Perley and Jacob Barker, two of the magistrates, "to give a reason (if any he hath) for the refusing to serve as a constable for said town of Maugerville." To this citation Tapley paid no regard, whereupon the magistrates, in high dudgeon, fined him forty shillings and issued a warrant to Samuel Upton, constable, who took a cow of the said Tapley to satisfy the fine and costs which sum was ordered to remain in the said constable's hand till called for.

The majority of the Maugerville people were of Puritan ancestry and members of the Congregational churches in Massachusetts. Scarcely had they established themselves upon their lands when they proceeded to organize themselves into a congregation. There is yet in existence a copy of the original church covenant,

certified as correct by Humphrey Pickard the church clerk. The covenant is signed by Jonathan Burpee, Elisha Nevers, Richard Estey, Daniel Palmer, Gervas Say, Edward Coy, and Jonathan Smith. The covenant is here given :

“ We whose names are hereto subscribed, apprehending ourselves called of God (for advancing of His Kingdom and edifying ourselves and posterity) to combine and embody ourselves into a distinct Church Society, and being for that end orderly dismissed from the Churches to which we heretofore belonged ; do (as we hope ) with some measure of seriousness and sincerity, take upon us the following covenant, viz :

“ As to matters of faith we cordially adhere to the principles of religion ( at least the substance of them ) contained in the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly of Divines wherewith also the New England Confession of Faith harmonizeth, not as supposing that there is any authority, much less infallibility, in these human creeds or forms, but verily believing that these principles are drawn from and agreeable to the Holy Scripture, which is the foundation and standard of truth : hereby, declaring our utter dislike of the Pelagian Arminian principles, vulgarly so called.

“ In a firm belief of the aforesaid doctrines from an earnest desire that we and ours may receive the love of them and be saved with hopes that what we are now doing may be a means of so great an happiness ; we do now ( under a sense of our utter unworthiness of the honour and privileges of God’s Covenant people ) in solemn and yet free and cheerful manner give up ourselves and offspring to God the Father, to the Son the Mediator, and the Holy Ghost the instructor, sanctifier and comforter, to be henceforth the people and servants of this God, to believe in all His revelations, to accept of His method of reconciliation, to obey His commands, and to keep all His ordinances, to look to

and depend upon Him to do all for us, and work all in us, especially relating to our eternal salvation, being sensible that of ourselves we can do nothing.

“And it is also our purpose and resolution (by Divine assistance) to discharge the duties of Christian love and Brotherly watchfulness towards each other, to train up our children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord : to join together in setting up and maintaining the Public worship of God among us, carefully and joyfully to attend upon Christ’s Sacrament and institutions ; to yield all obedience and submission to Him or them that shall from time to time in an orderly manner be made overseers of the flock, to submit to all the regular administrations and censures of the Church and to contribute all in our power unto the regularity and peaceableness of those administrations.

“And respecting Church discipline it is our purpose to adhere to the method contained in the platform or the substance of it agreed upon by the Synod at Cambridge in New England Ano. Dom. 1648 as thinking these methods of Church Discipline the nearest the Scripture and most likely to maintain and promote Purity, order and peace of any.

“And we earnestly pray that God would be pleased to smile upon this our undertaking for His Glory, that whilst we thus subscribe with our hands to the Lord and surname ourselves by the Name of Israel ; we may through grace given us become Israelites indeed in whom there is no Guile, that our hearts may be right with God and we be steadfast in His Covenant, that we who are now combining together in a new church of Jesus Christ, may by the purity of our faith and morals become one of those Golden Candlesticks among which the Son of God in way of favor and protection will condescend to walk. And that every member of it thro’ imputed righteousness and inherent grace may hereafter be found among that happy Multitude whom the glorious head of the Church, the Heavenly Bridegroom shall

present to Himself a glorious church not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing."

No date is attached to this church covenant, but it was in all probability drawn up a year or two after the arrival of the first settlers. Jonathan Burpee, whose name comes first among the signers, was a deacon in the church, and for some years a leader in all church movements. He lived in that part of Sheffield just above the Academy and was the ancestor of Hon. Isaac Burpee, minister of customs in the Mackenzie government, and of many others of the name.

It was not until some years after the organization of the church that there was any settled minister on the St. John River and those desirous of entering the holy estate of matrimony were obliged like James Simonds to proceed to Massachusetts or to follow the example of Gervas Say and Anna Russell, whose marriage is described in the following remarkable document:

Maugerville, February 23, 1766.

"In the presence of Almighty God and this Congregation, Gervas Say and Anna Russell, inhabitants of the above said township enter into marriage Covenant lawfully to dwell together in the fear of God the remaining part of our lives, in order to perform all ye duties necessary betwixt husband and wife as witness our hands.

{ GERVAS SAY.  
  { ANNA SAY.

*Witnesses* — Daniel Palmer, Francis Peabody, Samuel Whitney, Richard Estey, George Hayward, David Palmer, Edward Coye.

Gervas Say was one of the signers of the church covenant, as also were three of the witnesses, Richard Estey,

Daniel Palmer and Edward Coye, and it may be assumed that the marriage was regarded as perfectly regular under the circumstances. It is not improbable that in the absence of a minister, this was the ordinary mode of marriage. Gervas Say was afterwards a magistrate of the county and in that capacity himself solemnized marriages under special license from the government.

The first religious teacher who visited Maugerville is believed to have been a Mr. Wellman, who came there with some of the first settlers, but did not remain. The Rev. Thomas Wood, a clergyman of the Church of England, visited the settlers on the river in 1769, and on Sunday, July 9th, preached at Maugerville to more than two hundred persons, but as they were most of them from New England, and had been educated "Dissenters of various Denominations," and one of their own ministers having been lately amongst them he christened only two of their children. These were William, son of Richard and Abigail Barlow, and Asa, "son of said Abigail and Asa Kenny, her first husband." Mr. Wood thought that if a prudent missionary could be settled among them their prejudices against the Episcopal forms of worship would soon vanish. The next year the people were visited by the Rev. Zephaniah Briggs, who remained from May to August, preaching on Sundays at the houses of Daniel Palmer, Jacob Barker, Hugh Quinton, Jonathan Smith and Elisha Nevers. After a while there came a Mr. Webster who, like his predecessor, was an itinerant preacher and did not tarry long.

It was not until the arrival of the Rev. Seth Noble in 1774, that the church had a resident pastor, but religious services were generally held on the Lord's Day at private houses by the deacons and elders of the church,

consisting of prayer and exhortation, reading of a sermon and singing. Among the early deacons were Jonathan Burpee, Samuel Whitney, John Shaw, and Humphrey Pickard. The elders were chosen annually.

The records of the church are yet in existence and show that the pledge to maintain "brotherly watchfulness toward each other," was by no means lost sight of for many of the entries are devoted to matters of discipline. In 1773, for example, two rather prominent members of the church were solemnly called to account, and after due acknowledgment of their faults before the congregation were "restored to their charity again." One of the offending brethren, who had been charged with "scandalous sins," was elected a ruling elder of the church less than two years afterwards.

The year 1774, gave to Manguerville its first resident minister, Seth Noble, and the circumstances connected with his appointment are thus stated in the minutes of the clerk of the church, Daniel Palmer :

"At a meeting held by the subscribers to a bond for the support of the Preached gospel among us at the House of Mr. Hugh Quinton innholder, on Wednesday ye 15th of June, 1774.

1ly. Chose Jacob Barker Esqr. Moderator in said meeting.

2ly. Gave Mr. Seth Noble a call to settle in the work of the ministry among us.

3ly. Voted to give Mr. Seth Noble as a settlement, providing he accept of the call, one hundred and twenty Pounds currency.

4ly. Voted to give Mr. Seth Noble a yearly salary of sixty five pounds currency so long as he shall continue our Minister, to be in Cash or furs or grain at cash price.

5ly. Chose Esqrs., Jacob Barker, Phinehas Nevers, Israel Pearly, Deacon Jonathan Burpee, and Messrs. Hugh Quinton, Daniel Palmer, Moses Coburn, Moses Pickard a Committee to treat with Seth Noble.

6ly. Adjourned the meeting to be held at the House of Mr. Hugh Quinton on Wednesday ye 29 Instat, at four of the clock in the afternoon, to hear the report of the committee.

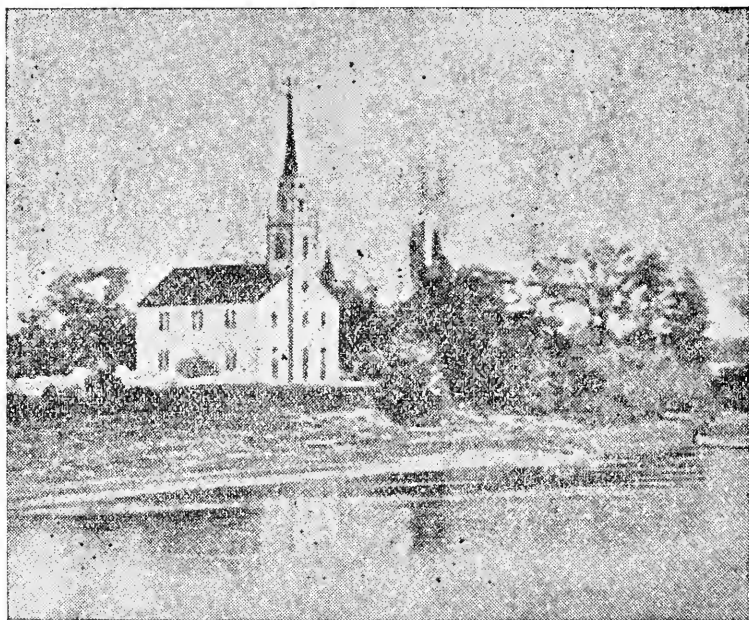
Met, on the adjournment, on Wednesday ye 29 of June 1774 and voted as an addition to the salary of Mr. Seth Noble, if he should accept of our Call, to cut and haul twenty five cords of wood to his house yearly so long as he shall continue to be our Minister. The meeting dissolved. ”

The call having been accepted, the people the following year set about the erection of a meeting house, which was to serve also as a residence for their pastor. In 1775 it was so far advanced that the exterior was nearly completed. The building was doubtless a very unpretentious structure not at all like the present Congregational Church in Sheffield, but it was the first Protestant place of worship erected on the river.

In the order of survey of the Township of Mauger-ville were the words “ You shall reserve four lots in the township for public use, one as a glebe for the Church of England, one for the Dissenting Protestants, one for the maintenance of a school, and one for the first settled minister in the place. ”

In accordance with this order lot No. 15, where the Sheffield Congregational church now stands, was fixed on in the year 1764 as a glebe for the “ Dissenting Protestants. ” Improvements were made upon the lot and a part of it used for a burial ground. The first

meeting house however, was not built there, for at a meeting of the congregation held in December, 1788, it was voted to remove the meeting house to the public lot in Sheffield and Nathan Smith, Sylvanus Plummer, Ebenezer Briggs, Elijah Dingee and Jacob Barker, Esq., were appointed "managers to remove the same." The building had been placed on a lot the title



THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AT SHEFFIELD.

of which was in dispute and in consequence it was removed to the lot on which the present Congregational Church stands. Rev. Joshua Marsden, one of the first Wesleyan ministers to visit the St. John River, preached at Sheffield in the early days of the last century, and in

his narrative describes the way in which the meeting house was moved. He says, "It had first been erected at Maugerville, upon a litigated lot of land, which the society, not choosing to bring to the issue of a law-suit, they determined to remove the chapel bodily to their own glebe, five miles lower down the river. The whole settlement, men, horses and more than one hundred yoke of oxen, were present to assist in this more than herculean enterprise. The chapel was raised from its stone foundation by immense lever screws. Prodigious beams of timber were then introduced under the whole length of the building; into these were driven large staples, to which the oxen were yoked with strong chains of iron. When all things were ready for a movement, at a given signal, each man standing by his horse or oxen, this great building, capable of holding eight hundred persons, was drawn down the river to its appointed place, where, another foundation having been prepared, it was again raised by levers upon it with very little damage. Not a single pew in the gallery or bottom having been removed in the process. In this emigrated chapel, I had the satisfaction of preaching the gospel of the kingdom to a large congregation. Perhaps you will wonder how the ice of this mighty river bore upon its bosom so ponderous a body; but your surprise will cease when I inform you that in the depth of winter, it is from two to three feet in thickness, making a bridge of aqueous crystal capable almost of bearing up a whole town."

The intercourse between the Maugerville people and the settlers at the mouth of the river was so constant that it is difficult to speak of the one community apart from the other. All the people on the river at this time

depended very largely for their supplies upon the store kept by Simonds & White at Portland Point. In return for goods purchased they tendered furs, lumber, their own labor and produce from their farms. Money they scarcely ever saw. Very often they gave notes of hand which they found it hard to pay. The furs they supplied were principally beaver skins at five shillings (or one dollar) per pound. They also supplied martin, otter and musquash skins, the latter at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  pence each. They manufactured white oak barrel staves at 20 shillings per thousand, red oak hogshead staves at 20 shillings per thousand, "Oyl-nut" staves at 16 shillings per thousand, clapboards at 25 shillings and oar rafters at £2 per thousand feet. Considering the labor involved—for the manufacture was entirely by hand—the prices seem small, but it must be borne in mind that 2s. 6d. was a day's pay for a man's work at this time.

As already indicated a considerable number of the Maugerville grantees could not stand the annoyance of the spring freshets. Hugh Quinton, Samuel Peabody, Gervas Say and William McKeen removed at an early date to the mouth of the river. Thomas Hart, Zebulon Estey and Edward Coy moved to Gagetown.

Naturally the larger number of those who removed from Maugerville on account of the freshets went across the river to the Township of Burton, in some cases retaining their property, in Maugerville. Among those who so removed were Isaac Stickney, Israel Estey, Moses Estey, John Larlee, Amos Estey, John Pickard, Benjamin Brawn, Edward Barker, Israel Kinney, John Shaw and Thomas Barker. They were chiefly original grantees or their sons.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Grants to Disbanded Officers—Conditions of Grants—County of Sunbury Formed—Beamsley Glasier—The St. John's River Society—Townships on the St. John—Mills at Nashwaak—Proprietors of Townships—Number of Settlers on the River.

**N**OT long after the treaty of peace between England and France was signed in 1763 a royal proclamation was issued at the Court of St. James offering lands to officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had served in the late French war, in token of his majesty's appreciation of their conduct and bravery. This had the effect of creating a species of land-hunger which ere long led to a general scramble for the possession of all lands that were of value and not already appropriated. Up to the year 1765, only three land grants on the St. John River, were recorded at Halifax. Then came the deluge! In the month of October in this year some twenty grants were issued, comprising nearly 750,000 acres of the best land on the river; immense tracts were also granted in other parts of Nova Scotia. Charles Morris, the surveyor general, explains that the large number of applicants for land and their importunity were partly due to the fact that the obnoxious "stamp act" was about coming into operation and those desirous of securing lands were pressing hard for their grants in order to avoid the stamp duties.

This land boom, if we may so term it, while it had the effect of stimulating to some extent the settlement of the

country for a time, retarded its subsequent growth and development.

The land grants were made under the conditions laid down in the royal instructions to the Governor of Nova Scotia, which were varied from time to time. The conditions at this period were :

1st. The payment of a yearly quit rent of one shilling sterling, to be made on Michaelmas day, for every fifty acres, the quit rent to commence at the expiration of ten years from the date of the grant.

2nd. The grantee to plant, cultivate and improve, or inclose, one-third part within ten years, one-third part within twenty years and the remaining third part within thirty years from the date of the grant, or otherwise to forfeit the lands not actually under improvement and cultivation.

3rd. To plant within ten years one rood of every thousand acres with hemp, and to keep up the same or a like quantity during the successive years.

4th. For the more effectual settling of the lands within the province the grantees to settle on every five hundred acres one family at least with proper stock and materials for improvement of the said lands within two years of the date of grant.

The arrival of a very considerable number of English speaking inhabitants at the River St. John in the course of a few years after Lawrence had published his proclamations, rendered it necessary to make provision for their government. Nova Scotia had been divided into counties in 1759 and what is now New Brunswick seems to have been regarded as an unorganized part of the County of Cumberland. The settlers on the River St. John were at first obliged to look to Halifax for the

regulation of their civil affairs, but this proved so inconvenient that the Governor and Council agreed to establish a new county. The county was called Sunbury in honor of the English secretary of state, the third Earl of Halifax, who was also Viscount Sunbury.

The first intimation we have of the formation of the county is contained in a letter of James Simonds to William Hazen, dated at Halifax, March 18, 1765, "I am just arrived here" writes Mr. Simonds, "on the business of the inhabitants of St. Johns. \* \* \* St. Johns is made a county [Sunbury] and I hope will soon make a formidable appearance." The decision of the government seems to have been consequent upon the visit of Mr. Simonds, who was supported in his advocacy by Capt. Beamsley Glasier the agent of the St. John's River Society. The latter was elected one of the first two representatives of the county in the Nova Scotia legislature, with Capt. Thos. Falconer as his colleague. The announcement contained in Mr. Simonds letter anticipated the action of the governor and council, for it was not until the 30th April, six weeks later, that the matter was carried into effect by the adoption of the following resolution, viz:

"That St. John's River should be erected into a county by the name of Sunbury, and likewise that Capt. Richard Smith should be appointed a justice of the peace for the County of Halifax."

The terms of this grotesque resolution are suggestive of the idea that in the estimation of his excellency and the council of Nova Scotia the appointment of a Justice of the Peace for Halifax was about on a par with the organization of the County of Sunbury, although the latter included an area as large as the entire peninsula of Nova Scotia.

The County of Sunbury did not, as is commonly supposed, include the whole of the present province of New Brunswick. Its eastern boundary is described as a line starting from a point twenty miles above Point Mispeck, on the Bay of Fundy, thence to run north by the needle till it meets the Canada Southern boundary.

Captain Beamsley Glasier, who is mentioned above, was a remarkably able and enterprising man. He was commissioned an ensign in the Fifth Massachusetts Regiment in 1745 and served under Sir William Pepperrell at the taking of Louisburg. He evidently was known as a determined and fearless leader, for during the seige, when the famous "Island Battery" was proving a serious menace to the beseigers, a party of forty signed the following agreement: "We whose names are underwritten have enlisted ourselves voluntarily to go on ye attack of the Island Battery, provided Beamsley Glazier is our commander on said attack, we shall then be ready at half an hour's warning." Captain Glasier subsequently served under Sir William Johnson and General John Winslow.

The idea of securing an extensive tract of land in Nova Scotia was taken up by the officers of the Royal Americans, the 44th foot and other regiments at Montreal early in the year 1764. Among the promoters were Captains Thos. Falconer, Beamsley, Glasier, and John Fenton, Rev. Dr. John Ogilvie, chaplain of the Royal Americans, Major Thomas Moncrief, Captain Daniel Claus, Captain Samuel Holland, Brigr. General Ralph Burton, Lieutenant William Keough, Lieutenant Richard Shorne and others, who formed themselves into a company or society for the acquisition of lands for settlement. They selected Captain Glasier to go to Halifax in their

behalf to make careful inquiry concerning the lands available for their purpose.

Captain Glasier obtained leave of absence from his military duties and for three years most of his time was spent in the society's business. He sailed from Quebec in August, 1764, and after exploring the southern coast of Nova Scotia and entering many of the harbors in order to get "the best information of the goodness of land, and conveniency for carrying on the fishery, he arrived at Halifax on the 26th of October.

"Upon my arrival," he says, "I waited on the governor and gave him my letters ; he received me with great politeness and ordered a meeting of Council the next day in order to consult where I should pitch upon a tract of land suitable for such a Grand Settlement, for it is looked upon as the most respectable of any in the province, and I must say that everybody in authority seem'd to interest themselves in the thing and gave me all the advice and assistance in their power. Many places was talked of, but none so universally approved as the River St. Johns. It was therefore the opinion of the Council, and all that wished well to the establishment, that I should go across the country to Pisiquid ( Windsor ), and take passage on board a Vessell that was going from thence with provisions for the Garrison of Fort Frederick, which I accordingly did, and arrived the 18th of November.

"As soon as I arrived I procured a boat and went up the river above the falls as far as where the good land begins to make its appearance ; but an uncommon spell of cold weather had set in and frozen over the small rivers leading into the main River.

“Besides what I saw, which answered exactly with the account I had of it before, I had the best information from the Indians and Inhabitants settled 40 miles up the River and the Engineer of the Fort, who had just been up to take a plan of the River, so that I was not at a loss one moment to fix on that spot for the settlement.”

Who, we may inquire, was the engineer of the fort who had just been up to take a plan of the river? The question is easily answered, for the plan referred to may be seen, handsomely framed and under glass, in the map room of the Archives Building at Ottawa, where it is regarded as one of the most valuable exhibits. It is in size 3 by 6 feet, beautifully drawn and colored and bears the title “A sketch of part of the River St. John on the North Side of the Bay of Fundy. From Partridge Island in the latitude of 45. 22 north, to Opaak an Indian Village; the length contained in this Sketch is near 80 English miles. Taken in November, 1764 by John Marr Sub-Engineer Lieutenant.”

Capt. Glasier after his arrival on the 18th November spent about four days in examining the river. It will be noticed he speaks of an uncommon spell of cold weather, nevertheless the river was open for a good distance. This goes to show that the winter season did not begin any earlier a century and a half ago than it does today. We may conclude from the account of his journey from Fort Frederick to Halifax that Glasier was a good traveller. He says, “We breakfasted at the Fort, dined at Annapolis and walked from thence to Halifax in 5 days, 145 miles, in company with a brother of Lord Byron, who made the tour with me to see the country.”

Beamsley Glasier would have made a good immigration agent, for he certainly describes the country in

glowing terms, yet his description is in the main quite accurate and exceedingly interesting as affording a glimpse of the region in its pristine state.

"The entrance of St. John's River," he writes, "forms like a Bay between two points about 3 leagues apart, from thence it grows narrower gradually up to the Falls, which is 200 yards broad. The Falls, which has been such a Bugbare, is rather a narrow place in the River than Falls, for at half tide it is as smooth as any other place in the River, from that till two hours ebb a vessel of 500 tons may go up or down. I know of very few harbours in America that has not a barr or some other impediment at the entrance so as to wait for the tide longer than at St. Johns; here if you are obliged to wait you are in a good harbor out of danger of bad weather.

"On each side of the falls the rocks are high and so continue about four leagues, all Lime stone; then begins the finest prospect in the world, the land becomes flat, not a stone nor pebble for 60 miles \* \* It runs level from six to twelve miles back and some places farther, such land as I cannot describe. The New England People have never plowed but harrowed in their grain, such Grain of all kinds, such Hemp, Flax, &c, as was never seen."

Glasier's description of the intervale lands in their virgin state, untouched by the white man's axe, serves to explain why these lands were not over-run by forest fires and were considered so desirable by the early settlers.

"The trees," he says, "are all extremely large and in general very tall and chiefly hard wood; no Spruce, Pine, Firr, &c. Neither is there underwood of brush,

you may drive a Cart and Oxen through the trees. In short it looks like a Park as far as ever your eye can carry you. The pine trees fit for large masts are farther back and bordering on the small Rivers, as I am told by the Indians. These fellows are the most intelligent people I ever saw ; near 400 live about 60 miles up the River, and seem to be well pleased at our coming here, I saw all their Chiefs at the Fort. The land on the N. E. side the River has been overflowed sometimes, but it goes off immediately and leaves such a manure as you may imagine — tho' it has not for several years past ; the other side is higher, the lands not so good in general. When I said not so good I would not be understood to mean that they are not good, for even those are as good as any I ever saw in America, with the same kind and quality of wood, but does not run back so far.

“I suppose we shall have the Proprietor's Town on the west side, tho' the New England people are all settled on the other side. The whole Country abounds with Game ; there is likewise plenty of Moose weighing from 1000 to 1500 lbs. each, fatt and finer than beef, which you may kill every day. Wild fowl of all kinds, cocks, snipes, and partridges are so plenty that the Gentlemen who was with me swore that it was no sport, as we could shoot 3 or 4 at a shot. An Indian made me a present of a pair of horns of a small Moose as he called them, for he assured me that some was twice as heavy. These measured 5 feet and 2 inches and weighed  $33\frac{1}{2}$  lb., judge you the bigness of the owner.

“Upon the Interval land you have a long kind of Grass which the cattle in that country fatten themselves upon. I never in my life saw fatter beef than one I saw

killed there, & the New England People vowed that the heiffers of the same breed that had a calf in Boston at 3 years old came in at 2 years at St. Johns, so much they improved in growth and Wantonness as they called it.

“Their Hoggs and Sheep they keep on the Islands, which are overflowed generally when the River brakes up which is commonly about the middle of April. This overflowing leaves these Islands so rich that the Hoggs grow fatt by eating ground nuts without any other food in summer (in our Grant we have some of these Islands) nor do they put up their Horses in winter, except those that work, tho’ you may cut any quantity of grass. Can I say more of the soil, trees, situation, &c.? Be assured it is all true.”

“The fish is the next thing. The River abounds with all sorts of small fry, Trout, Salmon, Bass, Whitefish & Sturgeon. The Bass is ketcht in Wiers just under the Point below the Fort, so that good voyages may be made in that branch; all the expence is in making the Wiers, and as to Sturgeon they are more remarkably plenty than any place upon the Continent, and if there was persons that understood pickling them it would be a very profitable undertaking and fetches ready money in London.”

Before Beamsley Glasier left Montreal there had been much discussion as to the location of the townships to be obtained and settled. It was ultimately agreed that Captain Glasier should use his best judgment, after he had made a personal examination of certain localities and obtained reliable information respecting lands that were yet ungranted. Glasier wrote from Halifax on the 15th December to Capt. Falconer and the committee at Montreal, informing them of his selection of lands on

the River St. John as by all odds the most desirable he had seen. "When I compare this place to any other we ever thought of," he says, "I am surprised it had not been fixed on before I came away."

On the 1st of March the Captain writes to John Fenton of Boston in equally enthusiastic terms :

"The interval lands on the St. John are wonderful, not a stone and black mold six feet deep, no underwood, large tall trees all hardwood ; you may drive a Coach through the Trees, we can cut what grass we please and we may improve the land immediately ; in short I can't describe it to you. \* \* \* I hope we shall be able to begin something this summer, there is the D — 1 and all of people applying for lands in this province. There is now settled 50 families just above us, all Yankys ; they are not very good Farmers you know, but they raised fine grain last year."

The task of surveying and exploring proved greater than was anticipated, and at the end of the summer the Surveyor General of Nova Scotia had only been able to make a general sketch of the river and townships, and Glasier expressed the opinion that it would be a work of two years at least before the River would be thoroughly known. Just how much time was spent in this work of exploration and survey we do not know, but the younger Morris spent the summer of 1766 surveying the townships of Gage and Sunbury, and he says : "The Surveyor General and myself expended more than a Hundred Pounds Sterling of our own Money in surveying the River last year."

Captain Glasier was very desirous of obtaining the best lands and states frankly, in one of his letters, "what we want is the good lands only, or as small a quantity of

the bad as is possible." He was not ready to make application for lands, therefore, until he had ascertained the whereabouts of the lakes, ponds, sunken lands, and lands not improvable.

Meanwhile trouble was brewing at Halifax, and it was only by the good offices of Governor Wilmot, Charles Morris, and other members of the Council that the Society was saved from disaster. We get an idea of the threatened danger in a letter of Hon. Michael Francklin to Captain Glasier of July 22, 1765, in which great concern is expressed that Glasier had not yet made his choice of the lands he desired. "You cannot conceive how the Government is embarrassed," writes Franklin, "by the daily applications that are made. We have no less than three agents from Pennsylvania who are put off on your account. My dear Sir be thoroughly persuaded that no set of people will have the preference to your Gentlemen in anything that can be done for them, but pray do reflect and consider the Government here and our situation, how disagreeable it is to lock up a whole River, sufficient for fifty Townships, and people applying every day that we are obliged to put off until you are served. Consider what a risque the Government runs of losing a number of valuable settlers. I beg of you, on my own account and as one who has the welfare and prosperity of the Province at heart, that you will by some means or other make your choice as soon as possible and transmit it to the Governor."

The Society no doubt received special consideration at the hands of the Government of Nova Scotia on account of the position and standing of its members. It included Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, General Frederick Haldimand ( afterwards governor of

Quebec), Sir William Johnson of New York, Capt. Isaac Caton, Capt. William Spry, Capt. Moses Hazen, William Hazen, James Simonds, Rev. John Ogilvie, Rev. Philip Hughes, Rev. Curryl Smith, Richard Shorne, Capt. Daniel Claus, Philip John Livingstone, Capt. Samuel Holland and Charles Morris. The membership of the association represented a wide field for among its members were residents of Quebec, Halifax, Boston, New York and the Kingdom of Ireland.

In October 1765 the company obtained a grant of five townships, to be known as Conway, Gage, Burton, Sunbury, and New-town, of which all but the last were on the west side of the river. The first three were named respectively in honor of Gen. Henry S. Conway, Secretary of State; Gen. Thomas Gage, one of the grantees; and Brig. Gen. Ralph Burton, who was stationed in Canada at this time. The location and extent of the townships may be generally stated as follows:

1. Conway, 50,000 acres, included in its bounds the parish of Lancaster and a part of Westfield extending from the mouth of the river up to Brandy Point.

2. Gage, or Gage-town, 100,000 acres, extended from Otnabog to Swan Creek and included the present parish of Gagetown.

3. Burton, 100,000 acres, extended from Swan Creek to the River Oromocto, including the present parish of Burton and part of the adjoining parish of Blissville.

4. Sunbury, 125,000 acres, began at Old Mill Creek, a little below Fredericton, and extended up the river as far as Long's Creek, including the City of Fredericton, the parish of New Maryland and the parish of Kingsclear.

**TOWNSHIP OF SUNBURY**  
 Settlers 41. Souls 333.

AUGHPACK

STANIS

Land reserved for Major Otto Hamilton  
 and others  
 Settlers 41. Souls 205.

TIDE FLOWS

ONE 200 HERE

**TOWNSHIP OF BURTON**

Settlers 37. Souls 158

**TOWNSHIP OF MAUGERVILLE**  
 80 Families.  
 Disbanded  
 New Englanders

**TOWNSHIP OF GAGE**

GENERAL GAGE & OTHERS

JEMSEG

GOV. WILMOTS FARM

**TOWNSHIP OF CONWAY**

Settlers 12  
 Souls 30 on this grant

Grand Bay

Canabecastus

St John's

Musquash Cove

Grand Bay

St John's

Portridge Is.

Grand Lake

Bellevue

Long Reach

Swan Creek

Bellevue

Bellevue

Bellevue

Bellevue

# MAP OF THE RIVER ST. JOHN IN THE PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA.

EXHIBITING THE GRANTS TO OFFICERS & CO. IN 1765 WITH OTHER PATENTS.

FROM THE SURVEY OF MR CHAS. MORRIS AND OTHER SURVEYORS.



A part of this grant on the east side of the river was added a little later to the Township of Newtown.

5. New-town extended about eight miles up the river from the Township of Maugerville on the east side opposite Fredericton and at first contained 20,000 acres, afterwards increased to 40,000.

The situation and bounds of the townships will be more readily understood by referring to the plan.

Under the conditions laid down by government the grantees were required to settle one-fourth part of their lands in one year in the proportion of four Protestant persons for every 1,000 acres, one-fourth part in the same proportion in two years, one-fourth in three years and the remainder in four years, all lands remaining unsettled to revert to the Crown.

An attempt was immediately made by Col. Glasier, Capt. Falconer and the more energetic of the associates to procure settlers and improve the lands, but the task was a gigantic one and settlers of a desirable class were by no means easy to obtain. The difficulties the Company had to encounter were legion.

Early in 1765 their plans had so far developed that Captain Falconer sent one Richard Barlow, late a serjeant in the 44th regiment, to act as storekeeper at the St. John River, where the Society now determined to establish its headquarters. Barlow was directed to proceed from Montreal to Boston and there take charge of the tools, utensils, materials and stores of all kinds provided for the Society's operations and embark with them for St. John. Included in the assortment of articles purchased in Boston were farming implements, carpenter's tools, mill gear, etc., also three yoke of oxen and tackling for hauling logs. The consignment was

shipped in the schooner "Lucy," one of the coasters of that period. The storekeeper was promised 200 acres of land and a weekly allowance for his services. He brought with him his family and became a permanent settler.

When Beamsley Glasier applied for lands on the St. John he expressed his fears that there might not be found any river "proper for erecting mills" within the townships for which he had made application, and asked the privilege of having the choice of any river that might be found fit for the purpose by the Committee of the Society, with a tract of 20,000 acres of timber land as near the mills to be erected as possible. To this the Governor and Council consented and the mill site selected was at Nashwaak Falls, where Gibson's Mills in Marysville stand today. In view of the immense development of the lumbering industry upon this stream in after years, the erection of the first saw mill is an incident of some consequence.

An important meeting of the St. John's River Society was held at New York on the 3d of June, when it was decided that steps should be taken as soon as possible for dividing the lands; that a surveyor should be employed to lay out a town at Grimross or some other convenient place; that a grist and saw mill should be immediately built on "Nishwack creek"; that Captain Glasier should agree with proper persons to build the mills, lay out the town, survey the lots for division and take possession in due form of all grants in the name of the Society. It was further decided that as a sum of money was required for surveying and dividing the lands into lots, building the mills, etc., that the second year's subscription should be paid on or before the 24th of August.

Two sites for the proposed town were regarded with favor, Grimross and St. Anne's Point. Both places had been originally cleared and settled by the Acadians. Glasier states in one of his letters : " At Grimross there is timber and lime, which the French had prepared to build a church ; there is cleared land three miles in length, an old settlement where our principal Town must be built, if we can't have St. Anne's Point, which is the finest spot on the River for our purpose. There are many difficulties to surmount, which you will know hereafter ; there is but one good stream on all the River fit to erect Mills upon, which I have got for us. There is about 100 Families in the Township of Peabody, they have not one mill of any kind, nor can there be ; they have been obliged to bring all from New England. These mills properly managed will pay for themselves four times a year, besides we can't carry on our Settlement without them."

Mr. Simonds' estimate of the cost of the mills will be found in his letter which follows. It was undoubtedly under the mark, for people are always optimistic in such things :

" Passamaquoddy, August 20th, 1765.

" Sir, — Agreeable to your desire I have made the nearest calculation I could of the cost of two mills and dam on Nashwog River, and am of opinion that two hundred pounds currency will complete them. The first cost is very great, which will be mostly for the dam, yet as the stream is sufficient for an addition of three or four mills on the same dam, it will be cheaper in the end than to build the same number of mills and a dam to each on small brooks that will be almost dry near half the year.

"I must advise you Sir to have your Iron work made of the best Iron. I have sent the dimensions of the cranks, knowing it to be the practice of New England to make them too small. I have described them something large, but think you had better exceed the size than fall short of it.

"The best workmen will be the cheapest, as the whole depends on the effectual laying the foundation of the dam, etc. I make no doubt but when the mills are completed they will saw at least five thousand boards pr. day.

"I am Sir, your most obedient servant.

"JAMES SIMONDS."

The sloop "Peggy and Molly," from Newburyport to St. John in July, 1766, called at Portsmouth for Captain Glasier and the millwrights he had engaged — Jonathan Young, Hezekiah Young, Joseph Pike, Tristram Quinby and John Sanborn. Soon after their arrival they framed and raised the mill. Visions of prosperity seemed now to float before the eyes of Captain Beamsley Glasier, as he contemplated the establishment of an important manufacturing industry and a thriving settlement on the banks of the Nashwaak. He wrote to William Hazen in August, "Young and all the carpenters intend to stay and settle here." But the task of building the mill-dam, and completing the mills proved a much more formidable undertaking than he had imagined, and there was to be no permanent settlement on the Nashwaak as yet other than Anderson's trading port at the mouth of the stream.

We have ample testimony of Beamsley Glasier's zeal and energy as director of the affairs of the St. John's River Society. Charles Morris, junior, says of him,

“Capt. Glasier has done everything that was possible for any man to do, and more than any one else in his situation would have done to serve the Society,” adding that he had not been properly supported by those associated with him and if he had retired there would soon have been an end to the Grand Settlement of the St. John River over which they had lately been so enthusiastic. Had he left the river, in all probability the Indians, who had been made to believe that the dam would destroy their fishery, would have burnt and destroyed all that had been done at the mills and before they could build again the lands would have been lost, for a court of escheats would certainly be held when all the lands granted in the province not settled and improved according to the conditions laid down would be forfeited. “But,” Mr. Morris continues, “I can’t imagine the Society will suffer theirs to be forfeited, for I am well convinced that less than £30 sterling from each proprietor will build all the mills, divide all the lands and pay every expense that has attended the settlement from first to last; and each proprietor will then have 7,000 acres of good land laid out into lots, mills built and everything ready and convenient to carry on and make a fine settlement of it.”

Glasier rarely complained of the difficulties with which he was confronted, but on one occasion he admits “I am in a very disagreeable situation and am heartily tired of it, and were it not for ingaging in the Mills, would curse and quit the whole business. I have not been well treated; the agents for all the Philadelphia and other Companys have been genteely appointed and every expence paid with honor. What I have done by myself has been ten times more than they all together and the expence not the fifth part in proportion.”

Captain Glasier acknowledges his obligations to Hazen & Jarvis who procured for him men to build the mills and stores of all kinds. The gear for the mill had arrived early in the season, but on the 25th of October the Captain was forced to write, "The mills won't be finished this fall; it is such a work that it was not possible to get through with it. My time has been divided between the mills and the surveying. I am condemned to tarry here this winter and can know nothing of what is doing in the world."

On the 2nd February following, he writes Mr. Nath'l. Rogers the Society's treasurer, of Boston, "We are now employed in getting logs to the mills. I hope we shall have them going early in the summer. They will begin to pay something of the expence before the fall. It's impossible for me to tell you in a letter all the expences of the different branches of business which I am obliged to carry on. It is not only building mills, surveying, etc., but clearing up the land, building houses, making roads, hiring oxen, (for we have not half enough of them) and in fine so much I shall never pretend to write it. James Simonds, Esq., who is the Bearer of this, will be able to inform you much better than I can. \* \* \* I am determined to finish what I have undertaken and then quit it. I am not in the best situation in the world, as I believe you'll think when I tell you I am not only shut out from all society and know nothing of what is carrying on in the world, but my stores are all expended, nor is there one thing to be bought here. Pray send me last year's magazines and some English newspapers as well as the Boston ones.

"I should be glad if you'd send the oxen, they may be not old nor of the largest kind but good to draw. I pay

half a dollar a day for each yoaak I hire, so that they'll almost pay for themselves in one year in work. Twelve is the least that should be employed hauling logs, as the mills will cut 8,000 feet a day, I am told, when they are finished. \* \* \* I told you I would not write you a long letter, as there is nothing I hate so much; it's the D—I to have ten thousands things to say."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "M. Glasier". The signature is written in dark ink and features a long, sweeping flourish that extends to the right.

Beamsley Glasier's connection with the St. John river was now drawing to a close. In the summer of 1767 he went to New York where we find him engaged in company with the Rev. Dr. Ogilvie, in collecting the second annual subscription from the members of the society. The military gentlemen proved very dilatory and it would seem that Capt. Glasier either became discouraged at the outlook, or he received orders to rejoin his Regiment. Anyway about the end of August, James Porteous, who represented the Montreal committee, wrote to Nathaniel Rogers: We are now informed Capt. Glasier is at New York on his way to join his Regiment, it therefore becomes necessary to appoint another person to transact the Society's business, for which purpose we have appointed Mr. James Simonds agent, with whom you will please correspond on any occurrence regarding the settlement."

The value of the lands on the River St. John had not escaped the notice of the keen-eyed partners at Portland Point for in one of their business letters James Simonds informs Wm. Hazen "the lands are very valuable if they may be had;" and again on the 19th December, 1764, he writes, "I have been

trying and have a great prospect of getting one or two Rights for each of those concerned in our company, and to have my choice in the Townships of this River, the land and title as good as any in America." Wm. Hazen and James Simonds soon afterwards obtained a footing among the proprietors of the Society and a right was also allotted to Capt. Moses Hazen.

Hazen & Jarvis were actively concerned in the attempts of the Society to settle the townships. Many details are mentioned in their letters. These details may appear to be trivial, yet everything that throws light upon the methods employed in peopling a new country ought to have an interest for after generations.

The more energetic of the proprietors of the townships such as Philip John Livingston, John Fenton, Capt. William Spry, Richard Shorne and others succeeded in bringing a considerable number of settlers to the river. In October, 1767, for example, ten families came from New York in a sloop to the River St. John, calling at Newburyport for cattle, sheep and hogs provided for their use by the Society—each family to have a cow, one sow and six sheep.

Philip John Livingston, mentioned above as much interested in the townships, was a member of a distinguished and wealthy New York family. His mother was Catherine de Peyster and his wife a daughter of Samuel Bayard. His brother, John W. Livingston, and his wife's brother, Abraham de Peyster, were captains in Col. Edmund Fanning's King's American Regiment in the Revolutionary war. Philip John Livingston himself was high sheriff of Dutchess County and during the Revolution held several important positions under British authority in the City of New York.

In the latter part of the year 1767, Capt. Glasier wrote from New York that a vessel was daily expected from Ireland with settlers for the River St. John and that one hundred families would the next year go to settle there.

Among the proprietors of the townships who tried to effect their settlement was Richard Shorne, a native of Ireland, with whom were associated the Rev. Curryl Smith of Alminsta, West Meath, Ireland, and his sons John and Robert Smith of the City of Dublin. Mr. Shorne took up his residence at St. Annes in 1767 and lived there for several years. He was returned a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly for Sunbury County in 1768, his colleague being Phinehas Nevers of Maugerville.

Simonds & White informed their partners at Newburyport, that they had been obliged to make considerable advances to some settlers Mr. Livingston had sent to the St. John River. Livingston objected to certain charges in this connection which led to an indignant remonstrance on the part of Simonds & White. "We are surprised that he should mention anything about the sums not being due, when not only that but near as much more has been advanced to save the lives of the wretched crew he sent. We have ever found that the doing business for others is an office the most unthankful, and unprofitable." In the same letter mention is made of the arrival of Richard Shorne with some families from New York, to settle the lands for which he was agent. James Simonds introduced Mr. Shorne to his friends at Newburyport as "a Proprietor in our Lands who has left Ireland with an intention of settling a number of Rights on the River and for that purpose is invested with power from his friends to draw on them

for any sum that may be necessary. I must beg your kind assistance and advice on his behalf as he does not appear to be much acquainted with the settlement of lands."

There were in all sixty-eight proprietors in the townships of the Society. An important meeting of the proprietors and their agents was held in the month of April, 1768, at the house of George Burns, inn-holder, in New York, when it was agreed to proceed to a new division of the lands in accordance with certain proposals submitted by Captain Wm. Spry. The proposals were as follows :

"1st. That every Proprietor shall have his proportion of the lands in the several Townships except Conway, (as will be hereafter explained) in one Township only, that Township to be fixed by Ballot.

"2nd. That when the Proprietors have drawn the Township their lot is to be in, they shall draw again for their particular lot in that Township.

"3rd. That the lots in each Township be divided so as to be as nearly of equal value with one another as possible, the expense to be defrayed by the Society in general, in case the division cannot be settled by the survey already taken.

"4th. That all the Islands be divided into sixty-eight lots and drawn for, except Perkin's Island ( at Passamaquoddy ) which is to remain in common among all the Proprietors.

"5th. That the Saw Mill also remain in common among all the Proprietors for Twenty years from the date of the Grant, then to devolve to the Proprietors of the Township it is in.

“6th. That as the Townships of Gage and Sunbury have been surveyed and the places for the Town Plots fixed by Charles Morris, Esq., surveyor of Nova Scotia, that as ten families were sent to the River last Fall and could get no farther than Fort Frederick, by reason of contrary winds, and therefore are not as yet fixed to any particular Township, and as several other families have been procured to be sent this Spring by different Proprietors, who without an immediate drawing for the respective Townships cannot know to what Township to send them, it is proposed that there should be a drawing for these Townships without loss of time, and also for the lots in the Townships of Gage and Sunbury, in the presence of two Magistrates of this City, which said lots Capt. Spry will undertake to make as equal a division of as the nature of the thing will allow.

The townships of Gage, Burton, and Sunbury were to be each allotted to twenty proprietors giving 5,000 acres to each individual. The smaller township of New-town, on the east side of the river above Maugerville, was to be similarly divided among eight proprietors. The township of Conway, at the mouth of the River, being convenient for the fishery, was to be divided equally among the 68 proprietors, giving about 735 acres to each. The lots were drawn in the presence of Dirck Brinckerhoff and Elias Desbrosses, justices of the peace and aldermen of the City and County of New York and the result was as follows :

*Township of Gage.* The proprietors who drew their lots in this Township were : John Lewis Gage, Daniel Disney, John Fenton, Esq., Beamsley Glasier, Esq., Dr. Thomas Blair, James Finlay, Jacob Jordon, George Johnstone, Thomas Clapp, Oliver Delancey, jr., Esq.,

Col. Frederick Haldimand, William Keough, Rev. Philip Hughes, Charles Morris, jr. Esq., William Johnstone, Esq., Synge Tottenham, William Spry, Esq., George Gillman, Frederick Haldimand, jr., Guy Johnstone.

*Township of Burton.* The proprietors who drew the Township were: John Porteus, Thomas Falconer, sen'r., Esq., John York, Esq., Daniel Robertson, Joseph Peach, Esq., William Parker, Charles Pettit, Ralph Christie, Esq., Daniel Claus, Esq., William Evins, Esq., John Campbell, Esq., Joseph Howard, John Cox, Thomas Falconer, jun'r., John Treby, Esq., James Porteus, Col. Richard Burton, John Livingstone, Esq., Samuel Hollandt, Esq., Benjamin Price, Esq.

*Township of Sunbury.* The proprietors who drew the Township were: Alexander John Scott, Dr. Robert Bell, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., John Collins, Esq., John Irving, jr. Esq., John Desbruyers, Esq., Francis Greenfield, Daniel Carleton, Thomas Smelt, Esq., Richard Shorne, George Fead, Edward Bulkely, Esq., John Leake Burrage, Oliver Shorne, Isaac Caton, John Norberg, Hugh Parker, James Allen, James Simonds, Nathaniel Rogers, Esq.

*Township of New-town,* (or the 40,000 acre tract)—The Proprietors who drew the Township were: Thomas Moncrief, Esq., Rev. John Ogelvie, D. D., Moses Hazen, James Jameson, William Hazen, Richard Williams, Charles Tassel, Esq., and James Hughes.

It was agreed that the various islands belonging to the townships should be divided into 68 lots and also that the saw mill, erected in the township of New-town should remain the common property of all the members of the Society for the space of twenty years from the

date of the grant, the expenses attending the building or repairing of the mill to be borne by the proprietors of the several townships, and after the expiration of twenty years to become the property of the grantees of Newtown.

In the division of the townships the Rights of William Hazen and his brother were drawn in New-town and that of James Simonds in Sunbury. Mr. Simonds evidently was satisfied for he wrote to Hazen & Jarvis on the 22nd of June, 1768.

“The Township of Sunbury is the best in the Patent and New-town is the next to it according to the quantity of land, it will have a good Salmon-Fishery in the river which the mills are to be built on, which runs through the centre of the tract. The mills are to be the property of the eight proprietors of the Township after seventeen years from this time, and all the Timber also the moment the partition deed is passed.”

As time went on it became more and more evident that most of the grantees would forfeit their lands in consequence of failing to settle them in accordance with the terms required by government. In July, 1770, Messrs. Simonds and White wrote to their friends in Newburyport. “The Society’s lands will be forfeited if not settled this year. We think it best to engage as many families and fix them in Conway as will secure our whole interest on the River if they can be had.” This advice was based on the opinion of Lieut.-Governor Francklin that settling the requisite number of people in any one of the townships would as effectually protect the interests of the grantees as if they were dispersed over all the townships.

After Beamsley Glasier’s return to his regiment, Capt. William Spry began to take an active part in the

settlement and development of the lands of the Society, and made frequent visits to the river from 1768 to 1773. Captain Spry was chief military engineer of Nova Scotia and some of the defences of Halifax were constructed under his supervision. He subsequently rose to the rank of Major-General in the army.

There can be but little doubt that many of the proprietors of the townships never had any intention of becoming residents. They regarded membership in the Society merely as a land speculation, and as time went on there was a good deal of buying and selling in connection with their rights. Twenty years after the issuing of the grants the rights of the great majority were forfeited in the court of escheats. The state of settlement when the Loyalists arrived in 1783 appears in the following tabulation of the townships.

	GAGETOWN	BURTON	NEWTOWN	SUNBURY	CONWAY	TOTAL
Men,.....	39	41	8	2	12	102
Women, .....	27	32	7	1	11	78
Children,.....	106	140	31	2	40	319
Houses,.....	34	31	8	3	12	88
Barns, .....	5	5	0	1	4	15
Acres cleared,	347	297	46	80	254	1024

It will be seen that after the lapse of twenty years there were only about five hundred people living in the townships and about a thousand acres of cleared land. There were eighty-eight dwellings, of which all but fourteen were log houses. Interesting particulars concerning these settlers will be found in the Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society.

The township of Conway remained undivided, but Messrs. Simonds and White succeeded in placing a number of useful settlers there, including Jonathan

Leavitt, Samuel Peabody, Daniel Leavitt, Hugh Quinton, Peter Smith, Thomas Jenkins, William McKeen, James Woodman, Elijah Estabrooks, John Bradley, Zebedee Ring and Gervas Say.

On the tracts of lands granted at various places on the river to Beamsley Glasier, General Gage, Alexander McNutt, Captain Stirling, Colonel William Fry, Colonel Goold, Charles Morris, John Anderson and others were settled about 50 families, comprising probably 250 individuals. The Maugerville colony numbered about 500 people and there were about 150 settlers at Portland Point and its vicinity. This would make a total of about 1,400 English inhabitants. Studholme's exploration committee found a considerable number of Acadians above St. Annes, some of them living in the upper part of the township of Sunbury and others at the mouth of the Keswick on the east side of the St. John. As enumerated by the committee there were 61 men, 57 women, 236 children, total 354. To these may be added the small settlement of Acadians at French Village on the Kennebecasis of about 50 souls, making the entire population of the river (exclusive of Indians) about 1,400 English and 400 Acadians at the time of the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783.



## CHAPTER XVII.

Lands Granted at St. John — Fort Frederick Dismantled — Indians still Troublesome — Adventures of Hannah Darling and of Capt. Jadis — The Marsh and Aboideau — Old Time Winters — Lime Burning — Company's Trade and Shipping — First Ship Built in 1769.



THE circumstances under which James Simonds, William Hazen and their associates organized the first trading company have been already related. In the course of a year or two the personnel of the original company was essentially altered by the death of Richard Simonds, the retirement of Samuel Blodget and Richard Peaslie and the admission of Leonard Jarvis as a new partner. Questions also arose as to the rights of the several partners in the lands granted to James Simonds, James White and Richard Simonds. In order to settle these questions a new business contract was signed at Newburyport on the 16th April, 1767 by James Simonds, Leonard Jarvis and William Hazen. This contract is still in existence. It is a well worn document and bears marks of repeated handling. This is not to be wondered at for the contract proved a veritable storm-centre in the litigation that ensued in connection with the division of the lands. The legal proceedings occupied the attention of the courts for twenty years.

Under the new contract Hazen and Jarvis were to have a half interest in the business, James Simonds one-third and James White one-sixth, and the lands that had

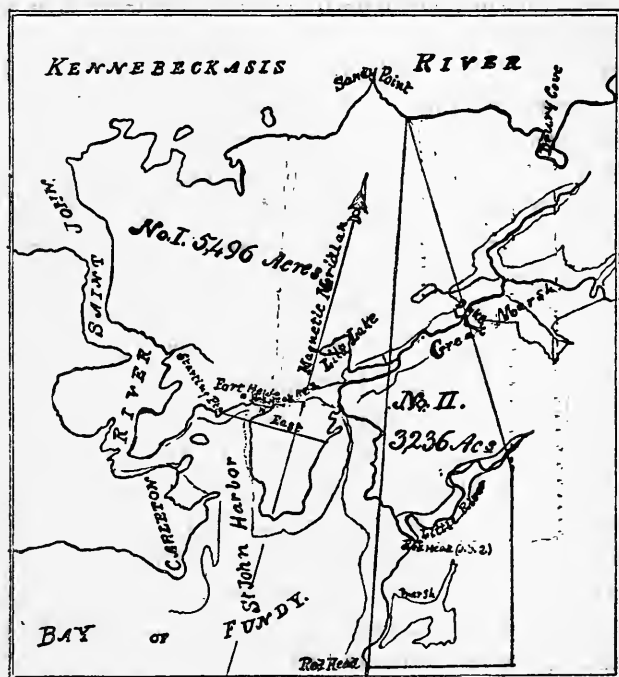
been granted to the partners were to be put into the common stock and divided in the following proportions, namely, one-half to Hazen and Jarvis, one-third to Simonds and one-sixth to White. The same division was to be made of any lands that should thereafter be obtained by the members of the company, during the continuance of the partnership.

The proposition relative to the division of lands led to "a warm altercation and dispute," but Hazen and Jarvis positively declined to continue in the business or to furnish supplies unless they were allowed an interest in the lands. They stated further that the goods on board the schooner Eunice should not leave Newburyport, nor would they furnish anything for the spring trade unless Mr. Simonds would execute the contract. Much as he disliked the proposal the situation of Mr. Simonds did not admit of delay. He was anxious to settle his family at St. John, his workmen and tenants needed his supervision and the Indian trade for the season would be lost unless the goods on board the Eunice were delivered as speedily as possible. Under the circumstances he decided to sign the contract.

James White declined to sign on the ground that having one-fourth part of the duties and trouble of transacting the business he was by the contract entitled to one-sixth part only of the lands to be divided, he nevertheless joined with James Simonds in carrying on the business in full confidence that some equitable allowance would be made him for his services.

The first grant of lands in which the company was concerned was made on the 2nd October, 1765, to James Simonds, Richard Simonds and James White. It is described as "Beginning at a point of upland opposite

to his (Simonds') House and running East till it meets with a little Cove or River; thence bounded by said Cove till it comes to a Red Head on the east side of the Cove—thence running North eleven degrees fifteen minutes west till it meets Canebekssis River, thence



bounded by said river, the River St. John and Harbor till it comes to the first mentioned boundary."

The bounds of this tract will be seen in the plan. The grant was thought to contain 2,000 acres, "more or less." In this case it was decidedly more, viz., about

5,496 acres in all. A generous allowance was made for lakes, sunken and broken lands and barren rocks.

The line from Mr. Simonds' house eastward to Courtenay Bay is that now followed by Union Street. The peninsula south of this street, which now contains the business part of the city of St. John, and which was laid out for the Loyalists in 1783 as Parr-town, was not included in the grant. The primary object of the grantees was evidently the limestone quarries and the big marsh, and they probably deemed the land south of Union Street hardly worth the quit rents.

The grant, however, included a very small portion of the marsh and a further grant was applied for. The application to government states that James and Richard Simonds and James White obtained a grant of 2,000 acres of mountainous and broken land at the mouth of the River St. John in the year 1765, which had been improved by building houses, a saw mill and lime kiln, and the company had settled upwards of thirty people on it who were engaged in carrying on those two branches of business, but the wood and timber so necessary for them was all consumed, they therefore pray that 2,000 acres additional to the eastward of the said tract might now be granted to the said James Simonds.

It could hardly be possible that all the wood between the harbor of St. John and the Kennebecasis had been consumed in the five years of the company's operations, but probably the timber in the vicinity of the saw-mill and wood convenient to the lime kilns had been cut, and this was sufficient to afford a pretext for another grant. The memorial was approved by the Governor in Council and the grant issued on May 1, 1770. The bounds of the grant are described as,

“Beginning at a Red Head in a little Bay or cove to the eastward of the Harbor at the mouth of Saint John’s River, described in a former grant to James Simonds in the year 1765, being the south eastern bound of the said grant, thence to run north 75 degrees east 170 chains, thence north 15 degrees west 160 chains or until it meets the River Kennebecasis, and from thence to run westerly until it meets the north eastern bound of the former grant.”

The boundaries of this grant may be readily traced on the plan. Like the former it included a good deal more than 2,000 acres. It may be said, however, that as the first adventurers to settle in an exposed situation the Messrs. Simonds and White were entitled to special consideration.

James Simonds was obliged to make repeated visits to Halifax in connection with the company’s business and these visits were sometimes attended with risk as will be seen in his letter below.

Halifax, Oct’r 1st, 1764.

“Last night arrived here after four days passage from St. John’s—the first 24 hours we were at sea in a severe storm, the second passed a place called the Masquerades where there was seas and whirlpools enough to have foundered the largest ship—we were providentially saved with the loss of all our cable and anchor endeavoring to ride at anchor till the tide slacked but in vain. It was unlucky for us to fall in with that tremendous place in the strength of flood tide in the highest spring tide that has been this year. Gentlemen here say it is presumptuous to attempt to return the same way at this season in an open boat; but as the boat and men are at Pisiquit (Windsor), and I have no

other way to get to St. John in season for my business: this fall, shall get our business done here as soon as may be and return the same way I came. The plea of the above difficulty will have a greater weight than any other to have business finished here immediately. This morning I waited on the Governor, Secretary and all officers concerned in granting license, etc., who assure me that my request shall be granted directly, so that I hope to be on my way to St. John's tomorrow."

We cannot but admire the courage and enterprise of a man who after so fatiguing a journey was ready the second day after his arrival in Halifax to mount his horse and travel forty-odd miles over a very rough road to Windsor to face again the perils of the Bay of Fundy in an open boat and in a stormy season.

The establishment of Fort Frederick contributed not a little to the advantage of the first settlers. The Indians were disposed to be troublesome and the presence of the garrison added very greatly to their sense of security. The garrison also brought quite an amount of business to the store of Simonds & White. In the accounts of 1764 are to be found the names of Lieut. Gilfred Studholme of the 40th Regt., Lieut. John Marr and Commissary Henry Green. Captain Pierce Butler of the 29th Regt., was in command at Fort Frederick the following year and his name appears in the accounts. For a year or two after the fort was established the garrison was furnished by the provincial troops of Massachusetts, afterwards by detachments of Highlanders and other British regulars. Simonds & White furnished wood and other supplies and doubtless it was not the least satisfactory incident in this connection that their pay was sure. The Indians were unreliable customers,

the white settlers on the river had but little money and their pay was chiefly in shingles, staves, spars, clapboards, musquash and beaver skins, but John Bull paid cash.

About three years after the arrival of Simonds and White their trade with the garrison was interrupted by the removal of the troops to Boston in consequence of riots there in connection with the enforcement of the Stamp Act. Mr. Simonds speaks of this in a letter dated July 25, 1768, in which he writes: "The troops are withdrawn from all the outposts in the Province and sent to Boston to quell the mob. The charge of Fort Frederick is committed to me, which I accepted to prevent another person being appointed who would be a trader. I don't know but I must reside in the Garrison, but the privilege of the fisheries on that side of the River and the use of the King's boats will be more than an equivalent for the inconvenience."

The defenceless condition of the port of St. John did not escape the notice of the Nova Scotia authorities. Lieut.-Governor Michael Francklin wrote to Lord Hillsborough that he had received a letter from General Gage, acquainting him that orders had been sent to Lieut.-Colonel Dalrymple to withdraw the garrisons from Fort Cumberland, Annapolis, Fort Frederick, Amherst and Louisburg. The Lieut.-Governor proposed to put these forts under the care of proper persons, being civil officers of Government. They would serve for places of safety for the settlers to retreat to in a case of a rupture with the Indians, and the buildings would serve for other public purposes. The Lieut.-Governor adds "I should be wanting in my duty to the King and to the true interest of this province if I failed in representing to His Majesty that the hazard of a rupture with the

savages will really be great, once they perceive the troops are withdrawn from the out posts without a probability of their being replaced, and that this Government conceives it highly necessary that as soon as His Majesty's other immediate service permits detachments of the King's troops be posted on the River St. John, and at Fort Cumberland on the isthmus of the Province, at Tatamagushe, at Fort Amherst, on the Island of St. John and at Louisburg, which detachments will be required to remain there for some years to come."

What Col. Francklin chiefly dreaded was the hostility of the Indians. "If they should break with us before the province is better settled," he says, "it would be very difficult for the Government to prevent the destruction of the greatest part of the out settlements." Even in time of peace there was danger, for the Indians were so interspersed among the settlers that when they were in want of subsistence, as was not infrequently the case, they were pretty sure to take provisions from their white neighbors by stealth or violence.

In August, 1769, Captain Godfrey Jadis, of the 52nd regiment arrived at Fort Frederick with the intention of making a settlement there. Shortly afterwards he removed to Gage Township, where he endeavored to bring the Indians into a proper submission to Government and to establish himself in trade. During his residence at Gage Township the Indians frequently threatened to scalp him and to burn his house, declaring that they would not rest until they had rooted out the English settlers in those parts. On the 6th of February, 1771, the savages carried out their long-concerted plan by fixing combustibles and setting fire to his house, store and

other buildings which were entirely consumed. The captain estimated his losses at more than £2,000 sterling.

Lord Wm. Campbell, the Governor of Nova Scotia, confirms Captain Jadis account of his misfortune and adds :

“I have had frequent complaints of those Indians since Fort Frederick has been dismantled and the garrison, which formerly consisted of an officer's command, reduced to a corporal and four. This Fort whilst properly garrisoned kept the Indians of that district in pretty good order, but not so effectually as if it had been constructed higher up the River, and as that Fort is now entirely dismantled I beg leave to offer to your Lordship's consideration whether a strong Block House properly garrisoned might not prove a proper check upon the insolence of the savages ; at the same time it would afford a secure protection to a very increasing settlement on the Banks of the River St. Johns, a situation abounding with most excellent soil and which produces the most valuable Timber, of all sorts, in this Province.”

As further illustrating the dangers arising from the sparsely settled condition of the country and the proximity of the Indians the following incident, which occurred in the family of Benjamin Darling, the first English speaking settler on the banks of the Kennebecasis is quoted.

Mr. Darling was born at Marblehead, Massachusetts, in 1730, and came to the St. John River a few years before the war of the American Revolution. He used to trade with the Indians and became very friendly with the chief of a small village at Nauwigewauk. Here in early times the Indians used to raise corn and tobacco. They were inclined to resent the intrusion of the whites

but Benjamin Darling, after prolonged negotiation, obtained from the local chief possession of the island, the consideration offered and accepted being two bushels of corn, one barrel of flour, a grindstone, some powder and shot and sundry knives, hatchets and other implements. Darling built himself a comfortable log dwelling, the upper part of which served as a store-room for goods for the Indian trade. After his wife's death his daughter Hannah became the housekeeper with a young girl friend as companion. The Indians, though otherwise friendly enough, objected to any attempt to clear and till the land and would not even allow the young ladies to beautify their premises by the cultivation of flowers. On one occasion Benjamin Darling went in company with the Indian chief to visit a beaver dam not far away. During their absence a young Indian entered the house with the avowed intention of taking one of the girls for his "squaw." There being no man about the premises the prospect was certainly alarming but woman's wit proved equal to the emergency. As the intruder advanced to lay hands upon her Hannah Darling offered to go with him of her own free will, but immediately after leaving the house cleverly eluded the Indian, slipped in again at the door and fastened it. The despicable savage advanced to the window with diabolical threats, whetted his knife before their eyes and finally seized a club to make forcible entry only to find himself confronted at the doorway by the plucky girl with a loaded musket in her hands. Her spirit was now thoroughly aroused ; she ordered him off the premises, and the Indian after glancing at her determined face slunk away. The old chief was greatly incensed on learning of this occurrence, and a day or

two later the culprit was brought before the young woman with his hands tied, the chief demanding "shall we kill him?" To which she answered, "Oh, no! let him go." He was thereupon chased out of the neighborhood and forbidden to return under penalty of death. Hannah Darling, the heroine of this spirited adventure, afterwards married Christopher Watson, and is said to have attained the wonderful age of 108 years.

In spite of the multiplicity of their other business, Simonds and White continued to make improvements upon their lands at St. John. They cleared up the "Great Marsh" and cut some hay there. In June, 1768, Mr. Simonds wrote to Newburyport, "Please send half a dozen Salem scythes; Haskel's tools are entirely out of credit here; it would be a sufficient excuse for a hired man to do but half a day's work in a day if he was furnished with an axe or scythe of that stamp." The next year plans were discussed for the general improvement of the marsh, and a number of Acadians were employed in the construction of a dyke and aboideau. These Acadians probably lived at French Village, near the Kennebecasis, and the fact that they were experienced in dykeing shows that they were refugees of the Expulsion of 1755. The situation of the first dyke was not, as now, at the mouth of the Marsh Creek but nearly opposite the gate of the cemetery, where the lake-like expansion of the Marsh begins. The work was completed in August, 1774. Those employed were the company's laborers, the Acadians and a number of the Maugerville people — about twenty-five hands in all.

The dyke and aboideau served the purpose of shutting out the tide from about 600 acres of marsh land. Ten years later Hazen & White built a new aboideau a little

above the first, which in turn fell into disrepair, and a much better one than either was built at the mouth of the creek in 1788 by James Simonds at a cost of £1,300. The House of Assembly voted £100 towards a bridge at the place and Mr. Simonds agreed to erect a structure to serve the double purpose of bridge and aboideau. The width of the structure was 75 feet at the bottom and 25 feet at the top. Not long afterwards Mr. Simonds built here two tide saw-mills. They did not prove a profitable investment for in 1812 one had fallen into decay and the other was so much out of repair as to be of little benefit to its owner.

In order to have ready access to the marsh a road was laid out from Fort Howe Hill along Mount Pleasant to what is now the "Island Yard" of the Intercolonial Railway. Not far from the present station of Coldbrook, the company built a house with hovels for cattle, put up fences and settled a family. A few years later they built two more houses and settled two more families each with a stock of cattle. The first tenants on the marsh were Stephen Dow, Silas Parker and Jabez Salisbury. The houses built for them cost £15 to £20 apiece. About this time a small grist mill was built at the outlet of Lily Lake.

The company had four lime kilns, the situation of which will be best understood by reference to modern land marks. The first was at the base of Fort Howe Hill at the head of Portland street, a second near the site of St. Luke's church, a third near the present Suspension bridge, and the fourth on the road leading to the "Indian House." The work of quarrying and lime burning was carried on in primitive fashion by the laborers of the company. In the winter a number of

them were employed quarrying the stone and hauling it with oxen to the kilns. The wood for burning grew almost at the spot where it was wanted, and its cutting served to clear the land as well as to provide the necessary fuel. In the course of ten years Simonds & White shipped to Newburyport and Boston more than 3,500 hogsheads of lime for which they received four dollars per cask ; they also sent lime to Halifax, Cornwallis and other places in Nova Scotia. The facilities for manufacturing in those days were very inadequate, the men lacked experience, casks were hard to get, and for a time the lack of a wharf and wharehouse caused much delay in shipment.

Perhaps there is no better way of contrasting modern methods with the primitive methods of those who first embarked in the industry and at the same time of showing the difficulties with which the pioneers had to contend, than by giving some extracts from James Simonds letters to Hazen & Jarvis.

St. John's River, 27th May, 1765.

Gentlemen, I received yours of 3rd of April the 1st inst, and of the 18th on the 9th inst. The schooner Polly is now near loaded. I am sorry the same dispatch could not be made with the schooner Wilmot. A cargo of Lime could not be prepared beforehand for want of oxen to draw wood. Have had bad luck in burning the Lime, the wood being wet, as the snow was but just off the ground. One-third of the kiln is not burnt. \* \* \* If the Lime answers well can burn any quantity whatever. The want of hogsheads is the greatest difficulty, the want of a house to cover it the next. Since the lime is all put in hogsheads I find there is near seventy empty ones remaining. They chiefly want one head each—

twenty or thirty more will be sufficient for another kiln. If you send the schooner directly back, boards must be sent for heads, and should think it would be best to send 100 refuse shook hogsheads for a third kiln with boards for heads and hoops, as they cannot be had here, also 5 thousand boards to cover a frame that is now decaying and will serve for a Lime House and Barn. Shall have a kiln ready to set fire to in three weeks after the schooner sails. Dispatch in shipping lime can never be made without a Lime house to have it ready when any vessel arrives. \* \* \*

In Great haste, I am, Gentlemen,

Yr. Most Obedient & Humble Servt,

To Messrs. Hazen & Jarvis.

JAS. SIMONDS.

In the year 1769 the company built the first wharf and warehouse at the Point. Their work was often hindered by the nature of the season, the winters then, as now being exceedingly variable. Mr. Simonds writes under date March 6, 1769: "Have had but little snow this winter, but few days that the ground has been covered. Have got to the water side a large quantity of wood, and wharf logs; about 300 Hogshead Lime Stone to the Kiln, and should have had much more if there had been snow. Our men have been so froze and wounded that we have not had more than three men's constant labor to do this and sled about sixty loads of hay from the marsh, saw boards for casks, look after cattle and draw firewood. Shall continue drawing or dragging wood and stone as long as the ground is frozen, and then cut the timber for a schooner and boat stone for a Lime Kiln, which with the wharf will take 400 tons."

The next winter was a severe one, Mr. Simonds writes on May 10, "The spring has been so backward that there has been no possibility of burning any lime. The piles of wood and stone are now frozen together." The next winter by contrast was extremely mild, and Mr. Simonds writes on February 18. "There has not been one day's sledding this winter, and the season is so far advanced there cannot be much more than enough to get the hay from the marsh ; but shall haul logs to finish the wharf and for plank for Fish Cisterns if it can by any means be done."

The popular idea that the climate of this Province was more severe in former times than now is not borne out by the correspondence, for we learn that a century and a half ago the navigation of the River St. John, as now, opened early in April, and the river could be relied on as a winter route to St. Annes "only between the first of January and the last of February and then many times difficult." In the extracts quoted Mr. Simonds states that during the winter of 1769 there had been but a few days that the ground was covered with snow, and two years later he says that up to the 18th of February there had not been a single day's sledding. This does not accord with the popular idea of old-fashioned winters. It is not likely that there have been any material changes in our climate since the days of Champlain, and this conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the weather reports since the time of Confederation do not indicate any alteration in our climatic conditions during the last 45 years.

And now just a word as to the present condition of the lime industry at St. John. It cannot be questioned that the splendid quality of our limestone, its vast

abundance, its convenient situation for shipment and the abundance and cheapness of the fuel needed, all go to show that the manufacture of lime is destined to become some day an important industry in this community. Twenty years ago the business was rapidly developing, when the McKinley tariff and Dingley bill completely excluded St. John manufacturers from the United States market which passed into the hands of their rivals of Rockland, Maine. It is, however, only a question of time when there will be a removal of the prohibitive tariff in the interests of United States consumers, and this will be hastened as the deposits of limestone at Rockland are exhausted. This circumstance, together with the increasing demands of the Canadian market, will cause the manufacture of lime at St. John to become eventually an industry as great as that of shipbuilding in its palmiest days.

Some general remarks will now be made upon the operations of St. John's first business men.

By the articles of partnership signed by William Hazen, Leonard Jarvis and James Simonds on the 16th April, 1767, it was provided that all trade and business in Nova Scotia should be transacted by James Simonds and James White and whatever business was to be transacted at Newburyport should be transacted by William Hazen and Leonard Jarvis. The remittances of Simonds & White consisted of fish, furs, lime, lumber, etc., and were sent to Newburyport until it was found to the advantage of the company that they should be sent to Boston, where Leonard Jarvis went to dispose of them. This was the beginning of St. John's trade with Boston. The Spring catch of Gasperaux was usually sent to Boston. Seven eighths of the furs and a large

proportion of the lime and lumber were also sold in Boston. In the first seven years of their operations the Company sent to Boston only 745 barrels of Gasperaux, but in the next four years more than 3,000 barrels were shipped.

Nearly all the settlers on the river obtained their goods from the company's store at Portland Point, and for their accommodation the little schooner "Polly" made occasional trips to Maugerville and St. Annes. On the occasion of a trip up the river in May, 1773, goods were sold to thirty families at various points along the way. In November, 1775, goods were sold in like manner to more than forty families. At that time the names of 120 customers, nearly all of them heads of families were on the company's books. Of these, 25 were residents at Portland Point, 20 lived across the harbor in Conway, 45 belonged to Maugerville, 20 to other townships up the river, 10 were casual visitors, fishermen or traders.

The names of most of the Maugerville families appear in the earlier account books of Simonds & White, and later we have those of the settlers at Gagetown, Burton and St. Annes. In the course of time branches of the company's business were established at convenient centres on the river, and goods were shipped to Peter Carr, at Gagetown, to Jabez Nevers at Maugerville, and to Benjamin Atherton at St. Annes. The goods appear to have been sold on commission and returns were made in lumber, furs and produce. The goods exported by Simonds & White included pine boards, shingles, clapboards, cedar posts, spars, cordwood, white and red oak staves, most of the articles having been taken in trade with the settlers. Hazen & Jarvis had an

extensive trade with the West Indies where the manufacture of rum and molasses created a demand for hogshead and barrel staves. These were obtainable in considerable quantities on the River St. John, and the terms on which they were purchased may be seen in the agreement between Simonds & White and Joseph Garrison & William Saunders, that the said Garrison & Saunders make and lay at the bank of the river, at convenient place to load on board a vessel, five thousand White Oak barrel staves and the same number of White Oak hogshead staves, to be well shaved and merchantable according to the laws of Massachusetts Bay, for which the said Simonds & White agree to pay, for Barrel Staves twenty-five shillings per thousand and for Hogshead Staves forty shillings. Joseph Garrison it may be observed was the grandfather of William Lloyd Garrison, the celebrated advocate of the abolition of slavery. He was one of the original grantees of Mangerville and drew lot No. 4, opposite Middle Island in Upper Sheffield. He was on the River St. John as early at least as July, 1764, and is said to have been the first of the English speaking race to work the coal mines at Grand Lake.

No account of the business of St. John, during the period of the operations of its first trading company, would be complete without some mention of its shipping. Naturally it was the day of small things then with the "winter port" of Canada. The ship that bore de Monts and Champlain to the Bay of Fundy in the year 1604, was a vessel of 150 tons, smaller than some of our coasting schooners of today, but the vessels employed in the business of Hazen, Simonds and White were even smaller, ranging from ten to eighty tons burden.

The qualities essential to successful navigation — pluck, enterprise and skill — were, however, admirably displayed by the hardy mariners of New England, the pioneers of commerce in the Bay of Fundy. In their day there were no light houses, or beacons, or fog-horns, even the charts were imperfect, yet there were few disasters. The names of Jonathan Leavitt and his contemporaries are worthy of a foremost place in our commercial annals.

The following list of the vessels owned or employed by Messrs. Hazen, Simonds and White in their business A. D. 1764-1774, together with the masters who sailed them, is probably as complete as at this distance of time it can be made :

*Schooners*: Wilmot, William Story; Polly, Jon. Leavitt, Jas. Stickney, Henry Brookings; Eunice, James Stickney; Betsy, Jonathan Leavitt; Seaflower, Benjamin Batchelder, Jonathan Leavitt; Sunbury, Jonathan Leavitt, Daniel Leavitt; Essex, Isaac Marble.

*Sloops*: Bachelor, William Story; Peggy & Molly, Henry Brookings; Merrimack, Jno. Leavitt, Samuel Perkins, Daniel Leavitt; St. John's Paquet, Richard Bartelott, Hen. Brookings, Joseph Jellings; Speedwell, Nathaniel Newman; Dolphin, Daniel Dow; Woodbridge, David Stickney; Sally, Nathaniel Newman; Deborah, Edward Atwood; Kingfisher, Jonathan Eaton.

Of the seventeen vessels enumerated, the schooners Wilmot, Polly, Eunice and Betsy and the sloops Bachelor, Peggy & Molly, Merrimack and St. John's Paquet were owned by the company.

For some years the company paid insurance (at the rate of 3 per cent) on their vessels and cargoes, but insurance after a time was discontinued on the ground that the business would not bear the expense.

When the partnership was first formed the company owned the schooner Polly of 20 tons, sloop Bachelor of 33 tons, and sloop Peggy & Molly of 66 tons. The same year Isaac Johnson of Newburyport built for them the schooner Wilmot of 64 tons. The company afterwards bought or built the schooners Eunice and Betsy and the sloops Merrimack and St. John's Paquet. The Merrimack was a square sterned vessel of 80 tons, built at Newburyport in 1762, purchased in 1771 by Hazen & Jarvis and employed in coasting to St. John and in carrying lumber to the West Indies. William Hazen and his family had reason to remember the Merrimack, for it was in her that they embarked for their new home in St. John in the month of May, 1775. They were cast away on Fox Island and many of their personal effects and some valuable papers connected with the company's business were lost. The passengers and crew were rescued and brought to St John in Captain Drinkwater's sloop the captain consenting to throw overboard his load of cordwood in order to make room for the party and their possessions. Most of Mr. Hazen's valuables and the rigging and stores of the Merrimack were saved.

The sloop St. John's Paquet was another vessel that had an unfortunate experience. She made occasional voyages from St. John to St. Croix in the West Indies. In the year 1770 she sailed from St. John with a cargo of lime for Newburyport, having on board William Hazen, who had been on one of his periodical trips to St. John. Simonds and White asked to have the sloop and cargo insured, but Hazen says the reason they gave, namely, that the paquet was "an unlucky vessel," did not make any impression on his mind or on that of Mr. Jarvis, and as it was a good season of the year they did

not effect it. The vessel unfortunately lived up to her reputation, grounded on the shoals at Newburyport and taking a "rank heel" got water amongst her lime, which set her on fire. The sloop and cargo were sold in consequence for £300 where she lay.

The Wilmot proved unfit for the company's business and in 1766, Hazen & Jarvis purchased a valuable cargo consisting of oxen, cows, calves, flour, cider, boards and bricks and sent her to Newfoundland for sale hoping to get a good price for her, but the schooner lost her deckload of cattle in a storm and the voyage was unprofitable.

In the earlier years of the partnership the Eunice, Polly, Peggy & Molly and other small vessels were employed from April to October fishing in the Bay of Fundy and at Passamaquoddy, but the company finding the fishing at Passamaquoddy declining on account of the multitude of their rivals determined to dispose of some of their vessels. Mr. Jarvis wrote to Simonds & White, "We look upon it in general to be the better way to sell all vessels when they come to be old and crazy, as we find by experience that old vessels are great moths."

Of all the company's vessels none seems to have done more excellent service than the little schooner Polly. For twelve years she bore a charmed life and in that time was employed in a variety of ways. At one time fishing at Annapolis or Passamaquoddy, at another trading with the Indians up the River St. John, at another transporting settlers and their effects from Massachusetts to Maugerville, at another on a voyage to the West Indies. Among the curious experiences of the little vessel may be mentioned the following:—In

March, 1765, she was driven by a tremendous gale on the top of the wharf at Newburyport from whence Hazen & Jarvis had some difficulty in launching her. At another time, returning from the West Indies in July, 1776, the Polly was taken by an American privateer, commanded by one O'Brien, and sent to Newburyport. She was claimed by William Hazen and after some delay restored to her owners and brought to St. John where she discharged her cargo. Not long after she was again captured and carried to Falmouth where her super-cargo Peter Smith succeeded in obtaining her release. The authorities of Massachusetts hoped at this time to have the co-operation of the people settled on the River St. John in their struggle for American independence, hence the consideration shown them; later on Mr. Hazen and his friends did not fare so well.

Shipbuilding was one of the matters that engaged the early attention of the company. The first vessel built and launched was a little schooner called the "Betsy," the construction of which was undertaken in 1769 by Simonds and White. Little did her designers and builders imagine that they were the pioneers of an industry that would one day place St. John fourth amongst the cities of the empire as a ship owning port and lead her to claim the proud title of "the Liverpool of America."

The materials used in building the "Betsy" were cut mostly on the spot, the rigging was sent from Newburyport, and about half the iron used came out of the company's old sloop "Wilnot." The schooner was built by Michael Hodge for  $23\frac{1}{3}$  shillings per ton; Adonijah Colby was his assistant. The "Betsy" was launched in the autumn of 1769 and sailed for Newbury-

port with her first cargo on the 3rd of February, Jonathan Leavitt going in her as master. She was sold the next year for £200, and Mr. Simonds expressed his satisfaction at the price as better than he had expected.

About the time of his marriage in 1773, Jonathan Leavitt in conjunction with his brother-in-law, Samuel Peabody, built a schooner called the "Menagnashe."

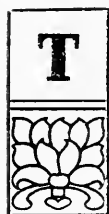
When Jonathan and his brother Daniel Leavitt had for several years been engaged in sailing the company's vessels, they became discouraged at the outlook and talked of settling themselves at some place where there was a larger population and more business. James White did his best to persuade them to remain, closing his argument with the exhortation, "Don't be discouraged boys! Keep up a good heart! Ships will come here from England yet!" And they came.

With a view of pursuing the business of shipbuilding William Hazen brought to Portland Point one John Jones, a master shipbuilder. The outbreak of the Revolutionary war put a stop to every kind of business, but Mr. Jones' employers paid his wages for some time in order to retain his services thinking that the war would soon be over and they would be able again to build ships. Mr. Jones improved the time by taking to himself a wife, Mercy Hilderick, sister to the wife of Samuel Peabody. There being no clergyman the ceremony was performed by Gervas Say, Justice of the Peace, who lived on the west side of the Harbor in the Township of Conway.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

Results of 'Ten Years' Trade.—William Hazen at St. John.—His House Yet Standing.—Census of Portland and Conway.—Rev. Thos. Woods' Visit.—His Tour up the River.—Acadian Settlement above St. Anne's.—Joseph Mathurin Bourg, first Acadian Priest.—Other Townships Granted in 1765.



THE Revolutionary war having put an end to all trade with New England the business of Hazen, Jarvis, Simonds & White as a company practically ceased. In the course of the dozen years of their operations, the goods and supplies sent to St. John from Boston and Newburyport amounted in value to at least \$100,000. The partners were not agreed as to the general results of the business; Mr. Simonds claimed that the receipts had more than repaid the outlay, while Hazen & Jarvis contended that no money had been made but that there had probably been a loss.

During the continuance of the business, 72 cargoes of goods and supplies were received at St. John, an average of six cargoes per annum. The value of goods and outfit of the first season amounted to £3,891 16s. 0½d. and the value of goods and supplies furnished under the first business contract, which lasted only three years, was £6,850 9s. 10d. Messrs. Blodget, Peaslie and R. Simonds then ceased to be concerned in the business.

William Hazen and Leonard Jarvis were unfortunate in their mercantile transactions at Newburyport and this, together with the loss of some of their vessels, made

it necessary for them to take special care of their interests consequently after the signing of the second contract William Hazen came frequently to St. John. Early in 1771 he determined to discontinue business altogether at Newburyport and remove with his family to Portland Point. James White says that it was the wish of both Mr. Simonds and himself that Mr. Hazen should settle near them, making choice of such situation as might be agreeable to his taste.

A house was built in the summer of 1771 by the company's carpenters and laborers for Mr. Hazen which when nearly finished was unfortunately destroyed by fire. A new house was begun the next year. The exact date of its erection, curiously enough, has been preserved in the following entry in the company's old day book :

"Nov'r 17, 1773 — Wm. Hazen, Dr. To 4 Gall. of West India Rum, 3 lb. Sugar, 3 Qts. N. E. Rum, Dinner, &c., &c., 25 shillings—for Raising his House."

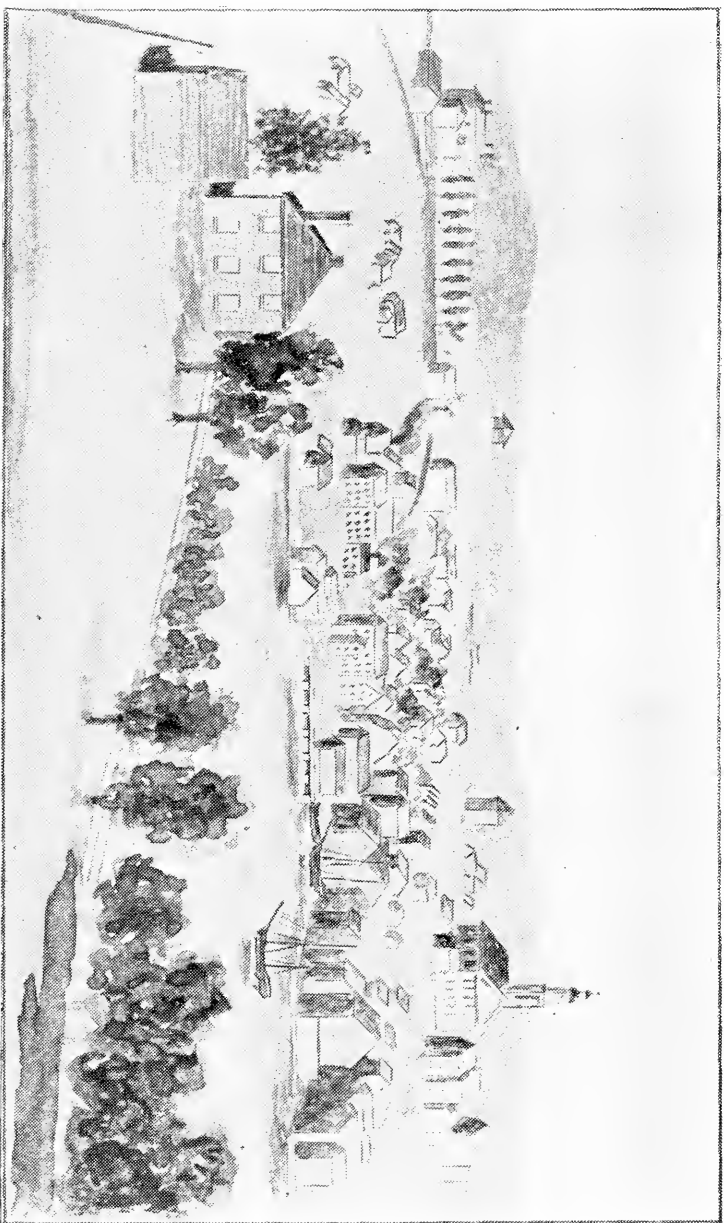
The entry shows that old time customs prevailed on the day of the "raising." It doubtless was quite a gala day in the settlement with everybody there to help and share in the refreshments.

The Hazen house still stands, considerably modernized it is true, at the corner of Simonds and Brook streets, having withstood the ravages of time and escaped the numerous conflagrations that have occurred in the vicinity during more than 135 years. The present foundation is new with the exception of the stone wall on Brook street which formed part of the original foundation. The roof formerly pitched four ways, running up to a peak at the centre. Some of the old studs, cut out to admit of placing new windows, were found to be spruce poles flattened on two sides with an axe ; the boards too

are roughly sawn. The sheathing of the house has all been renewed, this with the substitution of a flat roof has greatly altered the external appearance of the building. The lower flat is at present used as a grocery, the upper flat as a hall. In olden times, and for many years Mr. Hazen's garden and grounds extended to the water. His residence was by far the best and most substantial until then erected at Portland — in early days it was considered quite a mansion.

The accompanying illustration is taken from a water color sketch now in the possession of Mrs. William Hazen. The original was made by a member of the Hazen family one hundred years ago. In the foreground appears the Hazen house, square and substantial. Nearly in line with and beyond it is the Chipman house overlooking the Valley. To the right of the Chipman House may be seen the block house which formerly stood at the corner of King and Wentworth streets, still further to the right is the old windmill tower where the Dufferin Hotel now stands, and to the right of this old Trinity church before its first spire was destroyed by fire.

The Hazen family undoubtedly proved a great addition to the limited society of Portland Point. We learn from an enumeration of the inhabitants made this year that their household included 4 men, 3 women, 3 boys and 2 girls, 12 in all. Mr. Hazen's nephew, John, who subsequently removed to Oromocto, was one of the family. With such a family to provide for Mr. Hazen's grocery bill at the Company's store grew pretty rapidly. The first item charged to his account after their arrival was 67 lbs. of moose meat at 1d. per lb. Beef was then quoted at 2d. per lb., or double the price of moose meat. It is altogether likely that moose steak was a



OLD HAZEN HOUSE AND GROUNDS NEAR PORTLAND POINT



much greater rarity with the family on their arrival than it subsequently became, for at the time it was one of the staple articles of food in this country and almost any settler who wanted fresh meat could obtain it by loading his musket and going to the woods.

William Hazen's removal from Newburyport to St. John, had been planned several years before and was in no way influenced by the threatening war clouds which hung low in the sky. His arrival at St. John, however, was nearly coincident with the clash of arms at Lexington, and it was not long until the events of the war closed the ports of Massachusetts.

Leonard Jarvis having retired from the company a verbal agreement was made in May, 1773, between Hazen, Simonds and White to carry on the fishery and trading in the proportions of a half interest to William Hazen, a third to James Simonds, and a sixth to James White.

Among the buildings at Portland Point when the Hazen family arrived were the residences of the three partners, a Lime store, Salt store, or Cooper's shop, the Log store, a new store, blacksmith shop, two or three small dwellings and barns, besides a saw mill at the outlet of the mill pond, a grist mill at Lily Lake, and one or two hovels on the marsh. The English-speaking population settled on both sides of the harbor did not exceed one hundred and fifty souls. Our authority on this point is a return of the state of settlement at the mouth of the River St. John made by James Simonds on the 1st day of August, 1775, which shows that the number of persons living on the two sides of the harbor was nearly equal, namely, on the east side seventy, and on the west side seventy-two.

## AT PORTLAND POINT.

Head of Family.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total
James Simonds, ...	4	1	4	3	12
James White, .....	4	1	1	4	10
William Hazen, ...	4	3	3	2	12
George DeBlois, ...	1	1	1	...	3
Robert Cram, .....	1	1	1	7	10
Zebulon Rowe, ...	1	1	...	2	4
John Nason, .....	1	1	2	3	7
John Mack, .....	1	...	...	...	1
Lemuel Cleveland, ...	1	1	1	1	4
Christopher Blake, ...	1	1	...	2	4
Moses Greenough, ...	1	1	1	...	3
	—	—	—	—	—
	20	12	14	24	70

## AT CONWAY.

Head of Family	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Total
Hugh Quinton, ...	2	2	2	4	10
Jonathan Leavitt, ...	1	1	1	...	3
Daniel Leavitt, ...	1	...	...	...	1
Samuel Peabody, ...	1	1	1	2	5
William McKeen, ...	2	1	5	1	9
Thomas Jenkins, ...	1	1	3	...	5
Moses Kimball, ...	1	1	...	...	2
Elijah Estabrooks, ...	1	1	3	3	8
John Bradley, ...	1	1	2	4	8
James Woodman, ...	2	...	...	...	2
Zebedee Ring, ...	2	1	2	1	6
Gervas Say, ...	1	1	...	...	2
Samuel Abbott, ...	1	...	...	...	1
Christopher Cross, ...	1	1	...	...	2
John Knap, ...	1	...	...	...	1
Eliakim Ayer, ...	1	...	...	1	2
Joseph Rowe, ...	1	1	1	2	5
	—	—	—	—	—
	21	13	20	18	72

Both of these communities were of New England origin for it appears from Mr. Simonds' return that every individual at Portland Point, with the solitary exception of one Irishman, was a native of America, and at Conway all the inhabitants, save two of English nationality, were natives of America. The Conway people, it will hardly be necessary to remind the reader, lived in the district now occupied by Carleton, Fairville, and other parts of the parish of Lancaster. At the time of the census they possessed two horses, 13 oxen and bulls, 32 cows, 44 young cattle, 40 sheep and 17 swine; total number of domestic animals, 148. On the other side of the harbor Hazen, Simonds and White were the owners of 57 horses and mules, 18 oxen and bulls, 39 cows, 35 young cattle, 40 sheep and 6 swine; the other settlers had 8 cows, 4 young cattle, 4 sheep and 6 swine; total number of domestic animals on the east side, 208.

Quite a number of the Conway people were employed by the company in various capacities. They suffered severely at the hands of American privateers and many of them were forced to move up the river for greater security.

It may be noted in passing that early marriages were much in vogue in those days. Sarah Le Baron was not sixteen years of age when she married William Hazen. Hannah Peabody had not passed her seventeenth birthday when she married James Simonds. Elizabeth Peabody was about seventeen when she married James White and her sister Hephraeth somewhat younger when she married Jonathan Leavitt. In most cases the families were large and the "olive branches" doubtless furnished sufficient occupation for the mothers to keep them from feeling the loneliness of their situation.

James Simonds had fourteen children. James White and Jonathan Leavitt had good sized families, but the Hazens undeniably carried off the palm. Dr. Slafter in his genealogy of the Hazen family says that William Hazen had sixteen children; possibly he may have omitted some who died in infancy for Judge Edward Winslow writes on Jan'y. 17th, 1793, to a friend at Halifax, "My two annual comforts, a child and a fit of the gout, return invariably. They came together this heat and, as Forrest used to say, made me as happy as if the Devil had me. The boy is a fine fellow—of course—and makes up the number nine now living. My old friend Mrs. Hazen about the same time produced her nineteenth."

While the presence of young children in their homes served to enliven the households of St. John's pioneer settlers it added to their anxiety and distress during the war. More than this the absence of church and school privileges was becoming a matter of serious consequence to the growing community.

The first clergyman of the Church of England to visit the River St. John was the Rev'd. Thomas Wood, a native of the town of New Brunswick in the then British province of New Jersey. Mr. Wood went to England in 1749—the year of the founding of Halifax—to be ordained by the Bishop of London. He bore with him testimonials declaring him to be "a gentleman of a very good life and conversation, bred to Physick and Surgery." He became one of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and was transferred from New Jersey to Nova Scotia in 1753. Halifax and Annapolis were destined to be the chief scenes of his labors, but he made frequent tours amongst the new settlements.

Mr. Wood's gifts as a linguist were of no mean order. While at Halifax he lived on terms of friendship and intimacy with the Abbé Maillard, the missionary to the Indians and Acadians.

As the Indians were for the time being left without any religious teacher Mr. Wood resolved to devote much attention to them. He applied himself diligently to the study of their language, in which he had the assistance of the papers left by the Abbé Maillard, and by devoting three or four hours daily to the task he made such progress that upon reading some of M. Maillards' morning prayers the Indians understood him perfectly and seemed themselves to pray very devoutly. He resolved to persevere until he should be able to publish a grammar, dictionary and translation of the Bible. He writes in 1764, "I am fully determined that nothing but sickness or the Bastille shall impede me in this useful service." Two years later he was able to minister to the Indians in their own language.

In the summer of 1769 Mr. Wood made a missionary tour up the River St. John, Lord William Campbell having provided him with a boat and party of men, under the direction of Capt. Spry of the Engineers.

The missionary arrived at St. John on the 1st day of July, and the day following, which was Sunday, held the first religious service conducted by an English speaking minister at Portland Point.

The account books of Simonds & White show that no business was transacted at their establishment on Sunday, and doubtless it had been honored as a day of rest, but up to this time there had been no opportunity for church-going. Among those who heard the first English sermon preached at St. John were in all

probability, the families of Simonds & White, their employes, Edmund Black, Samuel Abbott, Samuel Middleton, Michael Hodge, Adonijah Colby, Stephen Dow, Elijah Estabrooks, John Bradley, William Godsoe, John Mack, Asa Stephens and Thomas Blasdel. To these may be added the wives of several of the workmen and a few settlers living in the vicinity. It may be observed in passing that Edmund Black was foreman of the lime burning; Abbott, Middleton and Godsoe were employed in making hogsheads and barrels for lime and fish; Hodge and Colby were shipwrights engaged in building a schooner for the company; the others were fishermen and laborers. Doubtless the service was a very simple one, and if there were any hymns they were sung from memory, for there is reason to believe that the only hymn book in the community, was a copy of Watt's psalms and hymns owned by James White.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of the situation, Rev. Mr. Wood on the occasion of his first Sunday at St. John established a record which, after the lapse of nearly a century and a half, remains unequalled for interest and variety. In the morning he held divine service and preached to the English settlers and baptized four of their children, including a son of James and Hannah Simonds. In the afternoon he held service for a number of Indians, who chanced to be encamped there, baptized an Indian girl and addressed them in their own language. In the evening, many of the Acadians being present, he held a third service and preached in French, the Indians again attending as many of them understood that language. The Acadians were at this time employed by Simonds & White in building an aboideau and dykeing the marsh. In one respect the Indians.

surpassed the English and the Acadians, for at the close of their service Mr. Wood desired them to sing an anthem which "they performed very harmoniously."

The next day the missionary sailed up the river, visiting the settlers in their homes as he proceeded. At Gagetown he baptized Joseph and Mary Kendrick, twin children of John and Dorothy Kendrick. Mr. Wood says the children were born in an open canoe on the river, two leagues from any house, a circumstance that illustrates the exigencies liable to arise in a region so sparsely inhabited as then was the valley of the River St. John.

On Sunday 9th of July, Mr. Wood held service at Maugerville as related in a previous chapter. He speaks in his letter to the S. P. G. of the rising townships of Gagetown, Burton and Maugerville as a most desirable field for a missionary and commends the Indians to the special consideration of the society. After making a call at Morrisania, below Fredericton, where two children were baptized, Mr. Wood and his companions proceeded to "Okpaak, the farthest settlement upon the River." On their arrival the Chief of the Indians came down to the landing place and handed them out of the boat, and immediately several of the Indians, who were drawn up for the occasion, discharged a volley of Musketry turned from them as a signal of receiving their friends, The Chief then welcomed them and introduced them to the other Chiefs, and after inviting them to their Council Chamber or largest wigwam, conducted them thither, the rest of the Indians following. Just before they arrived they were again saluted with musketry as before. After some discourse relative to Monsieur Bailly, their French priest, finding them uneasy that they had no priest

among them for some time past, Mr. Wood, told them that the Governor had employed him to go to the Indians to the eastward of Halifax, and had sent him to officiate with them in his absence. They then seemed well enough satisfied, and at their desire he began prayers with them in Mickmack, they all kneeling down and behaving very devoutly. The service concluded with an anthem and the blessing.

The French priest who is referred to by Mr. Wood was Father Charles François Bailly, who came to the River St. John in the summer of 1767 and established himself at Aukpaque, or "*la mission d'Ekouipahag en la Rivière St. Jean.*" The register of baptisms, marriages and burials at which he officiated during his residence at Aukpaque is still to be seen at French Village in the Parish of Kingsclear, York county. The records of his predecessor, Germain, however, were lost during the war period, or while the mission was vacant. That there was a field for the missionary's labors is shown by the fact that in the course of his year's residence, he officiated at 29 marriages, 79 baptisms and 14 burials. His presence served to draw the Indians to Aukpaque, in the vicinity of which were some Acadian families, refugees of the expulsion of 1755. The older Indian village of Medoctec was deserted and the missionary ordered the chapel there to be destroyed, seeing that it served merely as a shelter for travellers and was put to the most profane uses. This building had been standing for fifty years and was much out of repair. The ornaments and furnishings, together with the chapel bell were brought to Aukpaque.

The presence of the Acadians here was distasteful to the authorities of Nova Scotia, and Richard Bulkeley the

provincial secretary, wrote to John Anderson and Francis Peabody, Justices of the peace for the county of Sunbury, "The Lieut. Governor desires that you will give notice to all the Acadians, except about six families whom Mr. Bailly shall name, to remove from Saint John's River, it not being the intention of the Government that they should settle there, but to acquaint them that on their application they shall have lands in other parts of the Province."

It is remarkable with what persistence the Acadians clung to the locality of Aukpaque in spite of repeated attempts to dispossess them. The New Englanders under Hawthorn and Church tried to expel them as long ago as 1796, but Villebon repulsed their attack on Fort Nachouac and compelled them to retire. Monckton in 1758 drove the Acadians from the lower St. John and destroyed their settlements, but the lowness of the water prevented his ascending the river farther than Grimross Island. Moses Hazen and his rangers destroyed the village at St. Anne and scattered the Acadians, but some of them returned and re-established themselves near Aukpaque. The governor of Nova Scotia apparently was not willing they should remain, hence his orders to Anderson and Peabody in 1768.

What the magistrates did, or attempted to do is not recorded, at any rate they did not succeed in removing the Acadians for the little colony continued to increase. They were sometimes obliged to live almost the life of the Indians to save themselves from starving, yet they clung to the place, and when the Loyalists arrived in 1783 their committee of exploration found an Acadian settlement above St. Annes of 61 men, 57 women and 236 children. In their report to Major Studholme the

committee term the Acadians "an inoffensive people." They had some land under cultivation, but few, if any, had any title to their lands save that of possession. Those who claimed longest residence were Joseph Martin who came in 1758 and Joseph Doucet who came in 1763. The settlement began to grow more rapidly after the arrival of the missionary Bailly. The missionary remained a year in residence and then, at the instance of the Governor of Nova Scotia, went to the Indians and Acadians to the eastward of Halifax. He was heartily commended by the Governor for his tact in dealing with the Indians and his loyalty to the constituted authorities of the province. Simonds & White in a letter of June 22, 1768, say, "We have made a smaller collection of Furs this year than last, occasioned by the large demands of the Priest for his services, and his ordering the Indians to leave their hunting a month sooner than usual to keep certain festivals. It's expected that there will be a greater number of Indians assembled at Aughpaugh next fall than for several years past." This extract serves to show that the Abbé Bailly's influence was felt while he lived on the St. John river. He returned to Canada in May, 1772, and was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor of Quebec.

Of the families whose names appear in the Abbé Bailly's register the Cormiers, Cyrs, Daigles and Héberts came from Beaubassin at the head of the Bay of Fundy; the Martins from Port Royal, the Mercures and Terriots from l'Isle St. Jean (or Prince Edward Island); the Violettes from Louisburg, and the Mazerolles from Rivière Charlesburg.

It is worthy of note that in spite of the hardships and misfortunes endured there are instances of marvellous

longevity among the old French settlers. Michael Vienneau, who with his wife Thérèse Baude lived at Maugerville in 1770, died at Memramcook in 1802 at the age of 100 years and 3 months and his widow in 1804, at the age of 96 years. Their son Jean died at Pokemouche in 1852, at the extraordinary age of 112 years leaving a son Moise who died at Rogersville in 1893 aged over 96 years. The united age of these four individuals—father, mother, son and grandson—are equivalent to the extraordinary sum total of 404 years.

In the course of a year or two after the arrival of the Loyalists the greater portion of the Acadians living on the St. John river above Fredericton removed to Madawaska, Caraquet, and Memramcook. A few, however, remained, and there are today at French Village, in York county, about 31 families of Acadian origin, and 17 families reside at the Mazerolle settlement not far away. The most common family name amongst these people is Godin; the rest of the names are Mazerolle, Roy, Bourgoïn, Martin and Cyr. The influences of their environment can hardly be said to have had a beneficial effect upon these people, few of whom now use the French language.

After the return of the missionary Bailly to Canada the Acadians were without a priest until the arrival of Joseph Mathurin Bourg in September, 1774. This intrepid missionary was the first native of Acadia to take holy orders. He saw the light of day at River Canard in the district of Mines on the 9th of June, 1744. His father, Michael Bourg, and his mother Anne Hébert, with most of their children, escaped deportation at the time of the Acadian expulsion in 1755 and sought

refuge at the Island of St. John, from which place they were transported by the English to the northern part of France. Young Joseph Mathurin became the protegee of Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, then at Paris. He pursued his studies at a little seminary in the Diocese of St. Malo and on the 13th September, 1772, was ordained priest at Montreal by Monseigneur Briand. After a year he was sent to Acadia as missionary to his compatriots of that region. He visited the River St. John and the little settlement at French Village near the Kennebecasis where, early in September, he baptized a considerable number of children, whose names and those of their parents are to be found in his register which is preserved at Carleton, Bonaventure Co., in the province of Quebec.

A fac simile of his autograph is here given.

A facsimile of a handwritten signature in cursive script. The signature reads "Joseph Mathurin Bourcy S.J. Prêtre Grand V." The letters are fluid and connected, with a large initial 'J' and a prominent 'S.J.' at the end.

The missionary made his headquarters at Carleton on the north side of the Bay of Chaleur but from time to time visited different parts of his immense mission. During the Revolutionary war he paid special attention to the Indians on the River St. John, who largely through his efforts were kept from taking the warpath and going over to the Americans.

Among the land grants on the St. John River made in 1765, several of large extent remain to be noticed. The township of Amesbury comprised 100,000 acres and included a tract extending from the Washademoak to the Belleisle, fronting on the River St. John, and

reaching into the country a considerable distance, the south east corner of the grant being in the vicinity of Darling's Island on the Kennebecasis. Amesbury consequently included the present parishes of Wickham, Johnston, Springfield and Kars, and parts of Kingston and Norton. In this large tract of country there were only four or five settlers at the coming of the Loyalists. There were twenty-three proprietors of the township, which was called "Amesbury" in honor of James Amesbury, a Halifax merchant, one of the grantees. Colonel Alexander McNutt was also one of the grantees. Another large township of 100,000 acres, fronting on the St. John above and below the Keswick stream, was granted in 1765 to Alexander McNutt and twenty-two others. This township was called McNutt's or Francfort. Among the grantees were Dr. Benjamin Franklin and Anthony Wayne, afterwards known as "mad Anthony," a celebrated general in the Revolutionary war. Large as was this grant, it sinks into insignificance in comparison with other reservations made to Alexander McNutt and his associates by Governor Montagu Wilmot in July, 1765. These reservations included 1,100,000 acres on the River St. John and five townships of 100,000 acres each in various parts of the province. Fortunately for after generations the conditions laid down by the government were not fulfilled and the lands, including the township at the Keswick, reverted to the crown after the arrival of the Loyalists.

Early in 1765, Major Otho Hamilton of the 40th regiment presented a petition to the King in Council for a township of 100,000 acres on the Saint John for himself and thirty-three associates to be called the Township of Hamilton. Among the petitioners were Major General

Armiger, Lieut.-Col. James Grant, Lieut. Gilfred Studholme, Lieut. John Marr, Attorney General William Nesbit, Henry Newton Collector of Customs at Halifax, and Hugh Wallace, merchant of New York. The proposed bounds of the township are described as "Beginning at the river or creek of Shouankik (Swan Creek) on the north-west side of the River St. John, a little below the Island Nijaktaak, and running from thence along that side of the said River St. John to a creek above the mouth of the River Rimuctou (Oromocto)" The petitioners made application for "a proportionate part of that clear tract of land on the north side of the Harbour of St. Johns, between the creek to the eastward of the Ruins of the old French Fort on which a new House of James White and James Simons is erected, and the carrying place to the small basin above the falls for building storehouses for the conveniency of the said Township of Hamilton, with privilege of pasturage for the cattle in common, on the Peninsula or Tongue of Land between the Portage or carrying place and the falls of St. Johns, which Peninsula the Governor of the Province of Nova Scotia had expressly reserved for Fortifications and a Common." The whole matter was referred to the Governor and Council of Nova Scotia, who were desired to cause a township to be laid out "in such part of the Continental part of Nova Scotia as the proprietors or their agents shall chuse, not already surveyed or granted, and not possessed or claimed by the Indians."

A reservation for Major Hamilton and his friends was accordingly made between the townships of Burton and Sunbury. (See plan at page 365) It does not appear that anything was done by the petitioners to settle or

improve the tract reserved for them. A couple of years afterwards the Governor of Nova Scotia granted 3,000 acres of it, above Burton, to Colonel Arthur Goold and 10,000 acres just below St. Anne's to Charles Morris jr. The latter tract, called Morrisania after the grantee, was purchased by James Simonds a few years later. Another tract of 8,000 acres, on the north side of the Oromocto stream, was granted to William Hazen and James White in 1782.

Among other large land grants on the River St. John, passed in 1765, was one of 20,000 acres to General Thomas Gage and nineteen associates most of whom were residents of New York. The tract included the lower part of the parish of Hampstead and the upper part of Greenwich, extending along the river from about the foot of Long Island to Jones' Creek, below Oak Point. Many of the grantees were related by blood or marriage and the association was in its way a "family compact." General Gage served in the seven years war in America and was commander-in-chief of the British forces at the Battle of Bunker Hill. His wife was a daughter of Peter Kemble, president of the Council of New Jersey; Stephen Kemble and Samuel Kemble, who were proprietors of the township, were her brothers. Henry Gage, son of General Gage, although only a child of five years, was one of the proprietors. Other proprietors were William, Samuel and Robert Bayard; they were related to the Kembles. The Bayards were leading Loyalists and among their descendants was Dr. William Bayard long the nestor, of the practising physicians of the maritime provinces. John Watts, a member of the Executive Council of New York, a gentleman of wealth and reputation, and his son-in-law Sir John Johnson,

were also among the grantees. That some of the grantees did not have a high opinion of the value of their real estate on the banks of the St. John is shown by the fact that on the 27th of May, 1767, fifteen of the proprietors, including General Thomas Gage, transferred their rights to Stephen Kemble for ten pounds current money of the Province of New York, and the grant was thenceforth known as the Kemble Manor,

Another considerable grant passed in the year 1765 was that to Captain Walter Sterling of the Royal Navy and nine others of 10,000 acres at the foot of Kingston peninsula, now known as "Lands End." This tract was forfeited for non-fulfillment of the conditions of the grant. Capt. Walter Sterling visited the River St. John in August, 1775, and had some business transactions with Hazen, Simonds and White.

Another grant of this period, "Glasier's Manor" comprised 5,000 acres extending from Brundage's Point in the parish of Westfield up the river two or three miles above the Nerepis. Beansley Glasier is believed to have lived part of the time he was on the River St. John at or near the site of Fort Boishébert. The Nerepis stream was then called "Beaubear's river," for in a description of the country, written a little before the arrival of the Loyalists, we have the following: "At the entrance of a small river, called Baubiers River or narrow Piece [Nerepis], the land (which was included in Glasier's original Grant) is good, both Interval and upland. On Baubier's River mills may be erected and there is some good timber. On Baubier's Point the salmon fishery is said to be the best on St. John's River."

After the arrival of the Loyalists Glasier's Manor passed into the possession of General Coffin. Before the

transaction was consummated, however, the Manor had nearly shared the fate of other grants. Elias Hardy, a clever lawyer employed by government to investigate the state of the old townships with a view to the forfeiture of lands vacant and unimproved, claimed that the manor was escheatable as not having been settled. It was shown, however, that Nathaniel Gallop and others had made improvements, built dwellings, barns and out-houses, but the Indians had burned the houses and destroyed the crops and finally driven the settlers away, and owing to the distracted state of the country at the time of the Revolution, no settlement was practicable near the mouth of the river. Governor Parr used his influence in Glasier's behalf in consideration of his former efforts to promote the settlement of the country. General Coffin succeeded in getting some valuable settlers to take up the lands there, among them Capt. Henry Nase of the King's American regiment, whose descendants still live at Westfield. In the course of the first year General Coffin expended more than £1,200 sterling in improving his property. He built on the Nerepis stream an excellent mill and displayed much enterprise in various ways.

The arrival of twelve thousand Loyalists at the River St. John in 1783, led to the forfeiture of a vast amount of land that had not been settled or improved to provide for their accommodation.

The township of Sunbury was wholly escheated but regrants were made to Benjamin Atherton and Philip Weade of lands improved by them at St. Annes. The Acadians in the township were removed, and most of them went up the river to Madawaska, where they were assigned a fine tract of country which their descendants possess at the present day.

New-town was wholly escheated for the accommodation of the Maryland Loyalists, but William Hazen, by arrangement with the government received in return for the surrender of the shares of himself and his brother, Moses Hazen, a tract of 11,000 acres situate eastward of the marsh at St. John, including the land along the Kennebecasis from Drury's Cove to Riverside on which so many summer cottages and suburban residences have been built of late years.

The township of Burton had a larger number of settlers than any other, with the exception of Maugerville, nevertheless out of twenty "Rights," into which it was originally divided, eleven were escheated as unimproved and granted to bona fide settlers.

The township of Gage suffered escheat about the same time but the lands occupied by actual settlers and by the tenants of Col. William Spry were regranted them.

The township of Conway was also escheated under an agreement with the government that the interests of Hazen, Simonds and White were to be protected by bestowing an equivalent elsewhere.

The townships of Amesbury and McNutts and most of the other large grants on the river were escheated at the same time.

The lands acquired by Simonds, Hazen and White were in the aggregate very extensive, and when they memorialized the Government of Nova Scotia in 1783 for an additional grant of 150,000 acres on the St. John, of which they desired to have 5,000 close to the town of Carleton, Governor Parr contented himself with transmitting the memorial to the home government with the remark that he had refused to consider it as the memorialists had already about 60,000 acres of land.

The space at our disposal will not admit of a description of smaller grants made to Isaac Caton, James Spry Heaton, William and John Jeffries and others, who either forfeited their rights or sold them for a small consideration to others. It was a fortunate thing for New Brunswick that the arrival of the Loyalists created an urgent and insistent demand for unsettled lands, otherwise the province might have suffered from absentee landlords as did the Province of Prince Edward Island.

The amount of correspondence with the home government on the subject of the establishment of townships and obtaining lands for settlement on the Saint John was amazing, and the number of petitions and memorials presented at Halifax and at Westminster quite surprising. In most of the surveys of Hon. Charles Morris, there was a liberal allowance for highways, etc., so that the grants really contained more than the stipulated number of acres. Of all the colonizers of the time, none made so much stir as did Colonel Alexander McNutt. It was he, apparently, who suggested the plan of townships to be laid out in blocks of 100,000 acres, or about twelve miles square, each township to be settled within four years with one hundred families, and the head or chief of each family to be made a freeholder with right to vote for representatives in the House of Assembly and for officers of the township. Eventually the idea of township gave place to the division of the Counties into parishes.



## CHAPTER XIX.

First Officers of County of Sunbury — Attitude of Settlers in the American Revolution — Machias "Rebels" — George Washington and the Indians — Col. John Allan — Privateers and Their Crimes — Fort Frederick Burned — The Maugerville Rebels — Loyal Inhabitants — Eddy Repulsed at Fort Cumberland — Col. Goold's Mission — Hazen and White Made Prisoners — Allan's Negotiations at Aukpaque — Studholme Defeats the Yankees — Indians Retire to Machias.



SOON after the County of Sunbury was established in April, 1765, magistrates and other officers were appointed. Captain Beamsley P. Glasier the agent and Captain Thomas Falconer the president of the St. John's River Society were chosen as the first representatives of the County in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, but it does not appear that either of these gentlemen attended the sessions of the House and as it was a rule that members absent for two years should forfeit their seats a new election was held in 1768, when Richard Shorne and Phineas Nevers were returned. The House was dissolved two years later, and at the ensuing general election Charles Morris, jr., and Israel Perley were returned; the former took his seat but Mr. Perley appears never to have done so and in 1773 James Simonds was elected in his stead. Mr. Simonds was in attendance in October, 1774, and took the customary oath, being the first inhabitant of the county to sit in the legislative halls of Nova Scotia. A little later

William Davidson was elected a member and he and James Simonds were the sitting members when the old Province of Nova Scotia was divided at the isthmus and the Province of New Brunswick constituted in 1784.

Among the first magistrates of the County of Sunbury were John Anderson, Beamsley Glasier, Francis Peabody, James Simonds, James White, Israel Perley, Jacob Barker, Pinehas Nevers, and Gervas Say. The Courts of General Sessions of the Peace met regularly at Manguerville and transacted such business as was necessary, appointed constables and other parish officers, administered justice and so forth. Benjamin Atherton was clerk of the peace for the county, James Simonds registrar of deeds and judge of probate, and James White sheriff. The first collector of customs was Capt. Francis Peabody.

The situation of Hazen, Simonds and White and other settlers at the mouth of the Saint John when hostilities arose between the old colonies and the mother country was very embarrassing. By birth and early association they were New Englanders and most of their old time friends and neighbors were hostile to the crown. Massachusetts was practically the cradle of the Revolution, and the vast majority of its inhabitants were bitterly opposed to the King and his government. But while Simonds, White and Hazen were Massachusetts men they held official positions under the government of Nova Scotia and had sworn allegiance to the King. Very likely they would gladly have assumed a neutral attitude in the approaching contest, but the force of events left no room for neutrality.

It is clear that at the beginning of the war the people of Massachusetts hoped for the cordial support of the

settlers on the River St. John. This is probably the reason why the small colony at Portland Point was not molested during the early stages of the war. But as the war progressed considerate treatment gave place to acts of vandalism and the sentiments of the people at St. John towards their old compatriots of Massachusetts became intensely bitter. Many of them were driven from their homes and obliged to seek refuge up the river.

During the war Machias, in Maine, was the asylum of disloyal spirits who fled thither from various parts of Nova Scotia. The township of Cumberland at the head of the Bay, included a considerable number of New Englanders and many of them were warm sympathizers with the revolutionary party. Jonathan Eddy was a representative in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly in 1774, and John Allan in 1776. Eddy and Allan, aided by William Howe and Samuel Rogers, succeeded in stirring up an active rebellion in Cumberland, which called for prompt action on the part of the Government of Nova Scotia. The leaders fled to Machias and a reward of £200 was offered for the apprehension of Eddy and £100 for each of the others.

The attitude of the Indians was a matter of serious concern to the settlers on the River St. John. Immediately after the Declaration of Independence the American congress authorized Washington to call forth and engage the Indians of Nova Scotia, St. John and Penobscot to take up the hatchet and fight against the English.

Some of them were reluctant to take sides in the contest and in answer to John Allan's solicitations said, "We do not comprehend what all this quarreling is.

about. How comes it that Old England and New England should quarrel and come to blows? The father and the son to fight is terrible ! Old France and Canada did not do so ; we cannot think of fighting ourselves till we know who is right and who is wrong."

The style of argument employed to induce the simple minded natives to side with the Americans is seen in the letter addressed to them by the agent of the Congress of Massachusetts in which the following statements occur : " The ministry of Great Britain have laid deep plots to take away our liberty and your liberty ; to make you and us their servants and let us have nothing to eat, drink or wear but what they say we shall ; and prevent us from having guns and powder to kill our deer and wolves and other game or to send to you to kill your game with so as to get skins and fur to trade with us for what you want.

We want to know what you our good brothers want from us of clothing or warlike stores, and we will supply you as fast as we can. We will do all for you we can and fight to save you at any time."

In consequence of the inducements of Allan and the other agents, Pierre Tomah and Ambroise St. Aubin, leading chiefs of the Maliseets of the River St. John, went to the trading post of the Americans at Penobscot, and signed an agreement to the following effect : " We heartily join with our brethren the Penobscot Indians in everything that they have or shall agree with our brethren of the colony of Massachusetts, and are resolved to stand together and oppose the people of Old England that are endeavoring to take your and our lands and liberties from us." The Indians agreed to bring their furs and skins to Penobscot and to procure their goods,

ammunition and supplies there. Many of them were heavily in debt to Simonds & White, so that the prospect of a new trading post with no old scores to settle appeared to them particularly inviting. James Simonds evidently had not a very high opinion of the Indians, for about this time he terms them "A set of infamous Rascals."

Washington honored the Indians with a personal letter accompanied by belts of wampum, after the approved Indian fashion. A delegation from the St. John River, Pierre Tomah at its head, went soon afterwards to his headquarters on the Delaware, where they received a flattering welcome and were sumptuously entertained. On the 24th December, 1776, Washington thus addressed them :

Brothers of the St. John's tribe: It gave me great pleasure to hear by Major Shaw that you keep the chain of Friendship which I sent you in February last from Cambridge, bright and unbroken. I am glad to hear that you have made a treaty of peace with your brothers and neighbors of Massachusetts Bay. My good friend and brother, Gov'r. Pierre Tomah, and the warriors that came with him shall be taken good care of, and when they want to return home they and our brothers of Penobscot shall be furnished with everything necessary for their journey. Never let the King's wicked counsellors turn your hearts against me and your brethren of this country, but bear in mind what I told you last February and what I tell you now."

The Maugerville people reported that Washington's letter had set the Indians on fire, and they were plundering all the people they thought to be Tories, and when the supply of Tories was exhausted, others might

share the same fate. "We think it necessary," they added, "that some person of consequence be sent among them."

John Allan was by far the most active and energetic agent of Congress in dealing with the Indians. He was born in Edinburgh and when four years of age accompanied his parents to Halifax when that city was founded by Cornwallis. At the commencement of the Revolution he lived near Fort Cumberland, on the New Brunswick side of the isthmus and carried on an extensive Indian trade visiting all the villages as far west as Penobscot. His estimate of the Indians is not particularly flattering. He says: "The Indians are generally actuated according to the importance or influence any one has who lives among them. They are credulous to a degree, will listen to every report, and generally believe it and think everything true that is told them."

We shall presently see that Allan was able to make good use of his knowledge of the weaknesses of Indian nature. He was appointed superintendent of the Eastern Indians in 1777 by the Massachusetts Congress, with the military rank of Colonel. He was the most persevering and troublesome antagonist the British had in Eastern New England. Had it not been for his exertions it is probable the Americans would have lost their outpost at Machias, and it is possible that the English would then have held the country as far west as the River Kennebeck.

In 1775 armed vessels were fitted out in some of the ports of New England to prey on the commerce of Nova Scotia. Many of these were manned by bands of brutal marauders whose conduct was so outrageous that even

Col. Allan was forced to send a remonstrance to congress on their behaviour: "Their horrid crimes," he says "are too notorious to pass unnoticed," and after particularizing some of their enormities he declares, "such proceedings will occasion more Torys than a hundred such expeditions will make good." The people of Machias were particularly fond of plundering their neighbors, and that place was termed "a nest of pirates and rebels" by General Massey, the commandant at Halifax.

Most of the calamities that were now to befall the people at the mouth of the St. John might have been avoided had an efficient garrison been maintained at Fort Frederick, but the fort was dismantled and the troops withdrawn in 1768, and it was not until the erection of Fort Howe in 1778 that adequate steps were taken for the protection of the inhabitants.

In the month of August a party from Machias, led by Stephen Smith, entered St. John Harbor in a sloop, burned Fort Frederick and the barracks and took four men who were in the fort prisoners. The party also captured a brig of 120 tons laden with oxen, sheep and swine, intended for the British troops at Boston. This was the first hostile act committed in Nova Scotia and it produced almost as great a sensation in Halifax as at St. John. The event is thus described by our first local historian, Peter Fisher, in his sketches of New Brunswick:

"A brig was sent from Boston to procure fresh provisions for the British army, from the settlements of the River St. John. The vessel was laden with stock, poultry, and sundry other articles, mostly brought from Maugerville in small vessels and gondolas, all of which

had been put on board within about fifteen days after the brig had arrived. While she was waiting for a fair wind and clear weather an armed sloop of four guns and full of men from Machias came into the harbor, took possession of the brig, and two days after carried her off to Machias. The first night after their arrival the enemy made the small party in the Fort prisoners, plundered them of everything in it, and set fire to all the Barracks, but did not molest any of the inhabitants on the opposite side of the river."

It is a curious circumstance that the construction and destruction of Fort Frederiek emanated from the same quarter, namely, Massachusetts. It was the Governor of Massachusetts, who, in the first instance, insisted on the necessity of taking possession of the River St. John and building a strong fort to overawe the French and Indians, and the soldiers, who built the fort and formed its first garrison, were mostly men of Massachusetts.

The burning of Fort Frederick was made known at Halifax by James Simonds and Daniel Leavitt, who went to Windsor, in a whale boat to solicit protection from government. Their report caused a stir on the part of the military authorities, and they began to take measures for defence, although it was more than two years before adequate protection was afforded.

The next year was a decidedly uncomfortable one for the people at Portland Point. In May two privateers entered the harbor, remaining more than a week. Their boats proceeded up the river to Manguerville and informed the people that the province would soon be invaded from the westward, that privateers were thick on the coasts and would stop all manner of commerce unless the settlers joined them. They threatened, moreover, that

should the Americans be put to the trouble and expense of conquering the country all who sided with the mother country must expect to lose their property and lands.

A public meeting was held on the 14th of May at the meeting house in Maugerville and a number of highly disloyal resolutions adopted. One of the leading spirits at the meeting was the Rev. Seth Noble, who had already written to General Washington to represent the importance of obtaining control of the River St. John. Jacob Barker, Esq'r., was chosen chairman and a committee, consisting of Jacob Barker, Israel Perley, Phineas Nevers, Daniel Palmer, Moses Pickard, Edward Coy, Thomas Hartt, Israel Kinny, Asa Kimble, Asa Perley, Oliver Perley and Hugh Quinton, was appointed to prepare the resolutions which were subsequently adopted by the meeting. One of the resolutions reads :

“Resolved, That it is our minds and desire to submit ourselves to the government of Massachusetts Bay and that we are ready with our lives and fortunes to share with them the event of the present struggle for liberty, however God in his providence may order it.”

The resolutions were circulated among the settlers and signed by 120 persons, most of them heads of families. The committee claimed that only twelve or thirteen persons refused to sign, of whom the majority lived at the river's mouth. If this statement be correct, the resolutions certainly could not have been submitted to all the inhabitants, for there is evidence to show that at least thirty families outside of those living in the township of Maugerville were steadfastly and consistently loyal to the government under which they lived. The names of these people are as deserving of honor as the names of the Loyalists who came to the province from

the old colonies in 1783. In the township of Maugerville we have no data to determine who were Loyalists — if any. But at St. Anne's we have Benjamin Atherton and Philip Weade; in Burton, John Larley, Joseph Howland, and Thomas Jones; in Gagetown Zebulon Estey, Henry West, John Crabtree, John Hendrick, Peter Carr and Lewis Mitchell; on the Kennebecasis Benjamin Darling; in Conway, Samuel Peabody, Jonathan Leavitt, Thomas Jenkins, John Bradley, Gervas Say, James Woodman, Peter Smith, and Christopher Cross; at Portland Point, James Simonds, James White, William Hazen, John Hazen, William Godsoe, Lemuel Cleveland, Robert Cram, John Nason, Moses Greenough, Christopher Blake and most of the men in the employ of Hazen, Simonds & White.

A number of Acadians too should be mentioned in this connection. Louis Mercure and his brother Michel Mercure rendered good service to the Governor of Nova Scotia in carrying dispatches to and from Quebec during the war period. Of the Martin family, Jean, Simon, Joseph, François and Amant were warmly commended by Major Studholme for their fidelity and active exertions on various occasions. Members of the Cyr family also rendered important services as guides or pilots.

At this distance of time it is difficult to determine how many people were disposed to be actively disloyal. That they had many inducements to cast in their fortunes with their old friends in Massachusetts is undeniable. At Maugerville the powerful influence of the pastor of the church, Rev. Seth Noble, and of the leading elders and church members was on the side of the American congress. Jacob Barker, who presided at the meeting

held on the 14th May, was a justice of the peace and ruling elder of the church. Israel Perley and Phineas Nevers were justices of the peace and had represented the county of Sunbury in the Nova Scotia legislature. Daniel Palmer, Edward Coy, Israel Kinney and Asa Perley were ruling elders of the church. Moses Pickard, Thomas Hartt and Hugh Quinton were leading church members. The gentlemen named, with Asa Kimball and Oliver Perley, were appointed a committee to make immediate application to the Congress of Massachusetts Bay for relief under the distress which prevailed.

At the Maugerville meeting it was unanimously agreed that the committee, whose names have just been mentioned, should have charge of all matters civil and military until further regulations should be made, and that all who signed the resolutions should have no dealings with any person for the future who should refuse to sign them. The tone of several of the resolutions was that of open defiance to the constituted authority of Nova Scotia, the signers pledging themselves to support and defend the actions of their committee at the expense, if necessary, of their lives and fortunes.

So far all seemed favorable to the promoters of sedition, but bitter humiliation was in store and within a year the majority of those who had pledged themselves to the people of Massachusetts as "ready with their lives and fortunes to share with them the event of the present struggle for liberty, however God in His providence may order it," were compelled to take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty King George III., or leave the country.

During the autumn of this year (1776) the Bay of Fundy was so infested with pirates and picaroons that the war vessels Vulture, Hope and Albany were ordered around from Halifax. They were not entirely successful in furnishing protection, for the privateers managed sometimes to steal past the large ships in the night and in fogs, and continued to pillage the defenceless inhabitants.

Another hostile act was now set on foot by the people of Machias of a more ambitious kind than the destruction of Fort Frederick. This was nothing less than an attempt to capture Fort Cumberland, where Lient. Col. Goreham was in command.

The leader of the expedition was Jonathan Eddy, who had lately been commissioned a lieutenant colonel by the Massachusetts congress. He was a native of Norton (Mass.), and had settled in Cumberland about 1763, but on the outbreak of the Revolution returned to Massachusetts. In July, 1776, Eddy set out from Boston and proceeded to Machias. He left that place about the middle of August in a schooner with 28 men as a nucleus of his proposed army. At Passamaquoddy a few people joined him. He did not meet with much encouragement at St. John, although Hazen, Simonds and White refrained from any hostile demonstration. Proceeding up the river to Manguerville Eddy says he found the people "almost universally hearty in our cause; they joined us with one captain, one lieutenant and twenty-five men, as also sixteen Indians." The leader of the St. John River contingent was probably Hugh Quinton who had as his lieutenant one Jewett of Manguerville.

On his arrival at Cumberland, Eddy was joined by many of the settlers but his whole force probably did

not exceed 200 men, badly equipped and without artillery. The Indians of the St. John were under the leadership of Ambroise St. Aubin, one of their chiefs, and Eddy says they "behaved most gallantly." However, the expedition failed to achieve anything of consequence.

All attempts to take the fort were futile, and the arrival of Major Batt and Captain Studholme with reinforcements rendered Eddy's situation exceedingly precarious. On the 28th November his forces were utterly defeated by Major Batt and hastily retired to the River St. John. They suffered great hardships and arrived in a very miserable condition. Unwelcome as they had proved to the people of Portland Point on their advance they were still more unwelcome visitors on their return. Hazen, Simonds and White were obliged to furnish them with provisions and supplies in order to keep them from plundering their store and dwellings. All that the partners got in return was the following bill, which presumably was never paid.

Portland, Nova Scotia, December 14th, 1776.

"Gentlemen, — At sight of this our second Bill (first of same tenor and date not paid) please to pay to Messrs. William Hazen, James Simonds and James White, or order, forty-one Spanish milled Dollars for value received of them.

Ezekiel Foster, Lt., Edmund Stevens, Capt., David Prescott, Lt., Daniel Meservy, Lt.

To the Honorable Council of Massachusetts States.

James White says the supplies furnished were regarded as for common cause and benefit to get rid of a needy lawless banditti.

In May, 1777, John Allan endeavored to establish an Indian truck-house on the River St. John. James Simonds thereupon proceeded to Halifax, and reported the matter to the civil and military authorities. Lieut.-Governor Arbuthnot at once sent Colonel Goold and a party, commanded by Major Studholme, to investigate, and on their arrival the Machias rebels promptly decamped. Goold wrote a letter to the inhabitants of the townships on the river stating that the government of Nova Scotia was well informed of their treasonable doings, and that the tenure of their present possessions was due to the clemency of "the most just, generous and best of Princes." His object was to effect a reconciliation for them with Government, and while he came to them with the olive branch of peace, in the event of their refusal of his overtures an armed force would follow and employ a very different argument.

A meeting was immediately held at Mauderville, and a letter sent to Colonel Goold in which the people aver "that their greatest desire hath ever been to live in peace under good and wholesome laws," and they declare themselves "ready to attend to any conditions of lenity and oblivion that may be held out to them."

Colonel Goold in his reply expresses his pleasure at the unanimity of their resolution to observe loyalty and obedience to the government under which they lived, and his surprise that they should suffer a few incendiaries to disturb the public tranquility. He hoped the word Committee had nothing so terrible in its sound as to frighten a majority of the loyal people. "Why not," he says, "form a committee in favor of Government and see which is strongest? I will throw myself into your scale and make no doubt but we shall soon overbalance these mighty Law-givers."

In a subsequent letter Goold observes that his ears will be shut to all insinuations as to the honesty of their submission, that their letter seems to breathe the sentiments of a sincere repentance for inconsiderate follies past, and that he has not the least doubt it will meet with as favorable a reception as they could desire.

In spite of Goold's tact and diplomacy there were a few irreconcilables. However he administered the oath of allegiance to nearly all of the people and, as his last word, charged them on no account to suffer those who inconveniently absented themselves from accepting the proposals of the Lieutenant Governor to return to their habitations without first proceeding to Halifax to beg pardon for their past behaviour. "I have nothing more to observe to you," he adds, "but that you are not to pay any more respect to those Gentlemen, who lately styled themselves your rulers, than to every other common member of the community." On his return to Halifax, he reported to Lt.-Gov'r. Arbutnot that the inhabitants of the River St. John had cheerfully taken the oath of allegiance, after delivering up two pieces of cannon, formerly concealed by the French.

Two of Allan's lieutenants, William Howe and John Preble, arrived at Manawagonish Cove on May 13th in a whale boat, not knowing of the presence of the British sloop of war. The commander of the sloop promptly dispatched a boat to the place and took their whale boat, but Howe and Preble fled to the woods and eventually got back to Machias. The captain of the Vulture succeeded in intercepting two schooners laden with supplies for Allan's proposed Indian "Truck House."

While he was at the River St. John, Col. Goold had an interview with the Indians and made a speech to

them in French, which made a strong impression. Eight of their chiefs and captains swore allegiance to George III., in the name of their tribe, and had they been let alone by Allan it is probable they would have given no further trouble. Col. Goold promised that he would represent to Lieut. Governor Arbutnot their great desire to have a priest, and expressed his confidence that they might have Mons'r. Bourg, then stationed at the Bay of Chaleur, who would be put on the same footing as their late missionary.

John Allan was altogether too determined a man to abandon the struggle without another attempt. Having learned on the 29th of May that the "Vulture" had returned to Annapolis he set out from Machias the very next day with a party of 43 men in four whale boats and four birch canoes. At Passamaquoddy, thirteen canoes joined the flotilla, which arrived at Musquash Cove, on the evening of the 1st of June. Having ascertained that there were no hostile vessels near, Allan sent one of his captains, Jabez West, with a party to seize Messrs. Hazen, Simonds and White. The party landed at Manawagonish Cove and marched through the woods to the river above the falls, crossing in canoes to the east side of the river and landing at what is now Indiantown. Proceeding on through scrubby woods and over rough limestone they reached Portland Point undiscovered and took William Hazen and James White prisoners. There was now no good will between the people of Portland Point and their neighbors to the west. Allan states in his journal "Hazen and Simonds jeered our officers saying that they made breastworks of women and children." Tradition has it that James Simonds told the marauders that they would never dare to face the King's soldiers for their blood was nothing but molasses and water.

Leaving a guard of sixty men at the mouth of the river under Capt. West the rest of the invaders proceeded up the river carrying their prisoners with them. West's party took possession of Woodman's store and buildings, opposite Indiantown, and occupied them as barracks. Allan ordered them "To range the woods from Hazen's across the river above the falls round to the Old Fort," in order to capture any vessel that might enter the harbor and prevent the landing of marines or seamen from any British ship of war.

Allan in his diary gives an account of his trip up the St. John, which is of much local interest. He claims that the majority of the settlers, despite their submission to Colonel Goold, were friendly to the American cause, although some were "great Zealots for Britain." On the 5th of June he arrived at Aukaque where forty or fifty Indians, arrayed in war paint and feathers, fired a salute of welcome. The visitors responded and in order to impress the Indians landed their two cannon and discharged them. Allan says that he found several of the Indian captains were vastly fond of Colonel Goold and seemed undetermined what to do. The inclinations of the head chiefs were diverse. Ambroise St. Aubin favored the Americans but Pierre Tomah, the head chief, inclined the other way. During the next four weeks there were formal conferences with the Indians with the usual harangues, exchange of wampum belts and other ceremonies, in all of which the American agent appeared to advantage. The chiefs made quite a grand appearance on these occasions, particularly Ambroise St. Aubin, who was attired in blue Persian silk coat, embroidered silk waistcoat, scarlet knee breeches and white cockade. In the intervals between the formal

conferences Allan visited the various wigwams exercising his powers of persuasion. He flattered the Indians, appealed to their cupidity, promising them presents and supplies at the trading post he was about to establish, recalled the days when they regarded the French as their brothers affirming, he had come to do them justice with the same authority Monsieur Boishébert had exercised in the French time. He was formally admitted into their tribe and the priest's house, adjoining the chapel, placed at his disposal. He wrote to Boston that he needed an abundance of things sent to him as he had been forced to be very lavish in his dealings with the Indians.

The account of Col. Allan's doings at Aukpaque, will be found in the diary of his lieutenant, Frederick Delesderniers, and is very interesting reading. It is apparent to one who reads between the lines that he felt he was engaged in a game at which two could play, and he feared the outcome. In spite of his zeal and apparent success he was suspicious of his native allies. He complains that the impression Colonel Goold had made seemed to occasion in them an unsteady conduct, so much so that notwithstanding their fair speeches, he at times thought that they would desert him after all.

The authorities at Halifax, on being informed that Allan was again at the River St. John, sent the warship *Mermaid*, sloops *Vulture* and *Hope* and a detachment under Major Studholme to put a stop to his proceedings. The *Vulture* arrived first and attempted to land a small party of troops at Portland Point, but the boats were fired on by the detachment under West and Dyer and returned to the sloop to await reinforcements. On the 30th of June Major Studholme landed at "Mahogany

Bay" with 120 men. The Americans were apprised of his coming and ambushed themselves, some of them climbing into trees. Major Studholme sent out flanking parties, which fired upon the enemy from either side, killing eight of their number, who were buried in one grave near the spot where they fell, the rest fled terror stricken with all speed to Machias. Studholme's party was guided to where the enemy were awaiting them by John Jones and Samuel Peabody who were loyalists. It is said that the hiding place of one of West's men, who had climbed into a tree, was betrayed by the cracking of a branch and, according to an eye witness, a soldier "dropped him like a little pigeon." The next day Colonel Francklin arrived from Windsor with 150 troops and militia.

Finding Studholme in hot pursuit West and his men ascended the Oromocto and crossing to the head waters of the Magaguadavic managed to reach Machias. They had little or no provisions and endured almost intolerable hardships. When tidings of disaster were brought to Aukpaque all was consternation. Pierre Tomah and some of the Indians were disposed to have an interview with Michael Francklin, but Ambroise St. Aubin and the others were of a contrary mind.

The approach of the British filled the Indians with alarm, which Allan did not try to allay, his greatest fear being that Pierre Tomah, "always considered a Tory" might induce the majority to make terms with the enemy. He succeeded in convincing them that their best course was to retire with him, assuring them that the Americans would shortly regain possession of the river, and that the Massachusetts government would reward them for their fidelity. The Indians resolved to

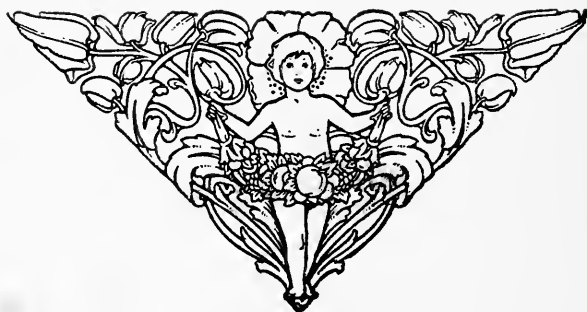
go to Machias. They abandoned their cornfields, took down their chapel bell and moved up the river as far as the mouth of the Keswick. A conference was held in Mazroles's barn on Sunday, July 6th, at which Deslesderniers says Col. Allan made a very moving speech. The same night Allan's men were surprised at Aukpaque by the British who secured their baggage, provisions, cannon and arms. The party had separated and gone to various French houses in the vicinity that they might not crowd one another, otherwise they must inevitably have all been taken.

Arrived at the old historic village of Medoctec Allan and his dusky companions did not long hesitate what course to pursue. Indian scouts sent down the river quickly returned with information that the English were on their way to Medoctec in pursuit. The Indians decided to proceed at once to Machias. The exodus was a remarkable one even for so migratory a people as the Maliseets. On Sunday, July 13th, a party of about 480 Indians, men, women and children, embarked in 128 canoes. The journey occupied three weeks and the party had a sorry time of it. The midsummer heat was excessive, the mosquitoes abundant, provisions scanty and the lowness of the streams greatly retarded the progress of the canoes. The Indians after some months had passed became impatient and desirous to return. They represented that they had abandoned the fertile banks of the St. John, their cornfields and hunting grounds, and requested that the Americans would vigorously exert themselves to take possession of and fortify that river, promising that they would assist in an expedition to gain and hold it.

Allan's enthusiasm over the spirit displayed by his

allies and their loyalty to him was somewhat dampened by their alarming consumption of his provisions and supplies, which he was obliged to dispense with a free hand or run the chance of their leaving him.

His general policy for the next few years was to keep them engaged during the summer in minor predatory operations against the British. In the winter they went hunting near the Schoodic lakes. Later Quunosquamcook, the point on which the town of St. Andrews now stands, became their principal camping ground.



## CHAPTER XX.

Privateers Again at St. John — Fort Howe Built — Gilfred Studholme's Services — Indians Still Troublesome — John Allan Versus Michael Francklin — James White and Pierre Tomah — Grand Pow-wow at Fort Howe — British Take Castine — Canadian Indians Order Micmacs and Maliseets to Remain Quiet — Post Route to Quebec — Acadian and Indian Couriers — Lola's great Race — Royal Governors and Indian Chiefs.



UNFORTUNATELY for the settlers at St. John a garrison post was not established for their protection by Francklin and Studholme, and as soon as the English ships departed Portland and Conway were as defenceless as ever. Privateers again began to pillage and plunder.

Late in the autumn an American sloop carrying eight guns entered the harbor. Her captain, A. Greene Crabtree, proved the most unwelcome and rapacious visitor that had yet appeared. Many of the settlers fled to the woods to escape the vandalism of his crew. From the store at Portland Point 21 boat loads of goods were taken. The plunder included a lot of silver ornaments, fuzees and other articles left by the Indians as pledges for their debts.

The situation at the mouth of the St. John had now become intolerable; the inhabitants were well nigh beggared and the end of their trials apparently was not in sight. William Hazen therefore proceeded to Windsor and urgently demanded protection. Col. Small, of the Royal Highland Emigrants accompanied

him to Halifax and by their united efforts the authorities were convinced of the necessity for immediate action. A considerable body of troops was ordered to St. John with directions to repair Fort Frederick or build a new fort. General Massey's choice of Gilfred Studholme as commander of the expedition was a wise one. He was not only a brave and capable officer but his experience as a former commander of the Fort Frederick garrison, and his knowledge of the River St. John and its inhabitants — Whites and Indians — rendered him peculiarly fitted for the post.

Studholme arrived at St. John in the latter part of November, with fifty picked men, a framed block-house and four six-pounders. They came in a sloop of war, which remained in the harbor for their protection till the next spring.

Studholme at first thought of restoring Fort Frederick, which the rebels had burned the year before, but in the end decided to erect a new fortification on the commanding site since known as Fort Howe. The lateness of the season rendered it necessary for the garrison to lose no time. They set to work vigorously and with the assistance of the inhabitants erected the blockhouse threw up the necessary defences, and were in snug winter quarters before the cold weather set in.

Colonel Robert Morse of the Royal Engineers thus describes the fort as it was in 1783 : —

“ This little work was erected in the course of the late war in preference to repairing a small square fort thrown up during the former war, the position of the latter [Fort Frederick] being low and commanded, and not so well situated for the protection of the houses built in the cod

of the bay, where two or three persons lived of a company to whom a large tract of land had been granted and who carried on a considerable trade with the Indians and persons settled up the river. The ridge upon which the new fort stands was offered by them, and a work in which there are eight pieces of cannon, barracks for 100 men and a small block-house was accordingly erected, together with a larger block-house at the other end of the ridge. The block-houses remain, but the work, which was composed of fascines and sods, is falling down, and the ridge on which it stands is too narrow to admit of any useful works being constructed upon it."

The armament of Fort Howe, consisted of 2 five and a half inch brass mortars and 8 iron guns, the latter including 2 eighteen-pounders, 4 six-pounders, and 2 four-pounders. In the barracks were twelve rooms for the officers and accommodation for 100 men.

The guns of Fort Howe would be no better than pop-guns in modern warfare. Indeed they appear never to have been fired upon an invader. On Royal anniversaries and in honor of national victories they thundered forth a salute from their iron throats, and we may believe that on the memorable 18th of May, 1783, they gave a right royal welcome to the Loyalist founders of the City of St. John.

Scarcely had Major Studholme got his defences in order, when that old Machias pirate, A. Greene Crabtree, again appeared upon the scene. He had disposed of his former booty and returned to complete the work of destruction.

He expected to surprise the settlement at Portland Point, but in this case the surprise was his own and the

sight of the British flag waving on the ramparts of Fort Howe was quite sufficient to cause him to beat a hasty retreat.

General Massey was of opinion that a rigorous policy should be set on foot against the privateers, and laments that Arbutnot was not in command of the naval squadron. "If he were," he says, "these trifling pirates could not appear on the coast without meeting their deserved fate." In the course of the next summer Captain Fielding succeeded in destroying six privateers in the space of three weeks and this rendered the Bay of Fundy a little more secure. As all trade was at an end and the situation at the mouth of the river much exposed Mr. Simonds now removed with his family to a tract of land below the township of Maugerville, which he had purchased of Charles Morris. The property comprised about 2,000 acres, and at the time of Mr. Simonds arrival not a single tree had been cut upon it. He built a small log house on the bank of the river just above Loder's Creek as a shelter for his young and helpless family, and here they were destined to spend the next nine years of their lives. He left to Lemuel Cleveland the care of his house at Portland Point, and leased all his lands and buildings at the mouth of the river to Major Studholme.

The comparative security enjoyed by the people on the St. John after the erection of Fort Howe was due to the ability and zeal of Major Gilfred Studholme. It is to be regretted that no portrait of this really eminent man is in existence, a fac-simile of his signature is

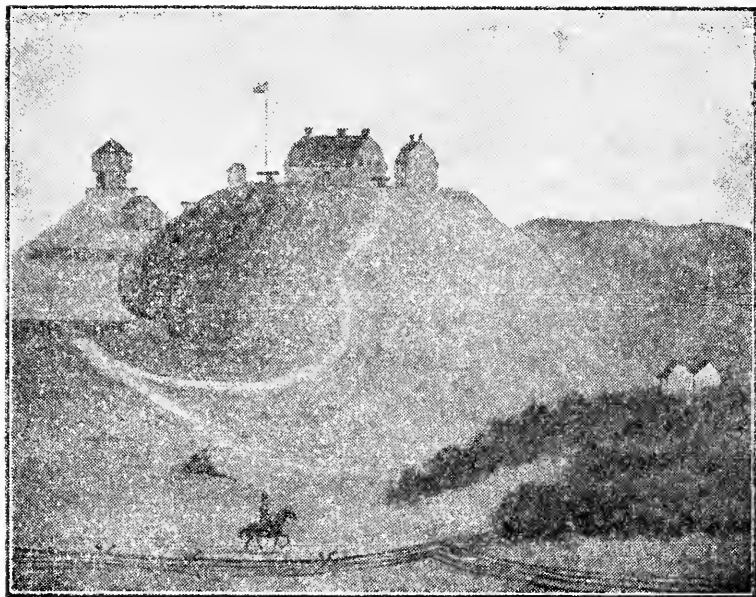
A fac-simile of the signature of Gilfred Studholme, written in a cursive script. The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the text 'of his signature is'.

He was a native of Ireland where his family owned a considerable estate. On the 22nd November, 1756, he was commissioned ensign in the 27th Foot, and embarked at Cork for Halifax in May following. He was commissioned Lieutenant in the 40th Foot November 10, 1761, and soon after commanded the garrison at Fort Frederick. He was transferred to the 24th Foot, September 1, 1771, and retired from active service in 1774. When the American Revolution broke out he was appointed a captain in Governor Legge's "Loyal Nova Scotia Volunteers," and afterwards transferred to the command of a company in the Royal Fencible American Regiment under Lieut. Col. Joseph Goreham. He served with credit at Fort Cumberland, sharing in the spirited attack of Major Batt, in which the besiegers under Eddy were driven off in great disorder and compelled to retire. The next summer Studholme drove John Allan from the St. John. He died on the 10th October, 1792, in his 52 year, and an obituary notice in the Royal Gazette states that, "The amiable manners, benevolence and liberal spirit which marked the character of this Gentleman justly endeared him to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. During his command at Fort Howe, his hospitality and generous attention to all strangers, whom the war had disturbed and driven thither for refuge, would have done honor to a much more dignified station, and drew forth the particular notice and acknowledgment of the General Officers commanding in Canada and Nova Scotia. In his capacity as Crown Agent for the settlement of the Loyal Refugees within the District of the River St. John, his exertions were unwearied."

General Massey wrote Lord Germaine on the 13th of March, 1778, that he continued to hear from Major

Studholme every fortnight, and that Fort Howe was perfectly secure. Some weeks later, however, on learning that a large force was assembling at Machias, he sent a reinforcement which arrived safely.

By the joint efforts of the garrison and of the inhabitants it was not long before Fort Howe was in a good



FORT HOWE.

state of defence, barracks were built, with signal station adjoining, also a blockhouse at the end of the ridge. These are shown in the illustration.

Rumors now began to prevail of an Indian uprising. John Allan after his flight to Machias managed to keep in touch with the Indians of the River St. John and sent

emissaries among them, who were very liberal in their promises of rewards, and who assured the savages that their old father, the King of France, had now joined hands with the Americans against the English.

Michael Francklin, however, began to act with vigor in the capacity of Superintendent of Indian affairs, and in consequence of his representations, the missionary Bourg came from the Bay of Chaleur to use his influence with the Indians. Francklin, on the recommendation of Major Studholme, appointed James White as his deputy on the St. John. He wrote Mr. White :

“From what I know of your zeal to serve Government and from your knowledge & acquaintance with the Indians of the River St. John and its environs, I do hereby authorize and appoint you to act as my Deputy at and in the neighborhood of the said River St. John. You will therefore take under your care the said Indians and inform me from time to time of their wants and wishes, and what measures you conceive may at any time be adopted to promote his Majesty’s interest. I have no salary to give or promise you, but as I have made a strong representation to the King’s minister of the necessity of a fund to defray the necessary expense : if my representation shall be approved you may depend that I shall not fail of providing you with an annual allowance.”

A crisis now rapidly developed. John Allan prevailed on the Indians to return the British flag to Fort Howe and to send in a declaration of war which he drew up in their name and which, subsequently, they claimed expressed his sentiments rather than their own. It was sent to Major Studholme and read as follows :

“To the British Commanding Officer at the mouth of the River St. John’s :

“The Chiefs, Sachems and young men belonging to the River St. John’s have duly considered the nature of this Great War between America and Old England. They are unanimous that America is right and Old England is wrong. The River on which you are with your soldiers belongs from the most ancient times to our Ancestors, consequently is ours now, and which we are bound to keep for our posterity. You know we are Americans and that this is our Native Country : you know the King of England with his evil councillors has been trying to take away the Lands and Libertys of our Country, but God the King of Heaven, our King, fights for us and says America shall be free. It is so now in spite of all Old England and his Comrades can do.

“The great men of Old England in this country told us that the Americans would not let us enjoy our religion ; this is false, not true, for America allows everybody to pray to God as they please ; you know Old England never would allow that, but says you must all pray like the king and the great men of his court. We believe America now is right, we find all true they told us for our Old Father the King of France takes their part, he is their friend, he has taken the sword and will defend them. Americans is our Friends, our Brothers and Countrymen ; what they do we do, what they say we say, for we are all one and the same family.

“Now as the King of England has no business, nor never had any on this River, we desire you to go away with your men in peace and to take with you all those men who has been fighting and talking against America. If you don’t go directly you must take care of yourself,

your men and all your English subjects on this River, for if any or all of you are killed it is not our faults, for we give you warning time enough to escape. Adieu for ever.

“Machias. August 11th, 1778.”

“Aukque Pawhaque, August 18th, 1778.”

Michael Francklin was able at this critical juncture effectually to check-mate the designs of John Allan by the assistance of Father Bourg, the French missionary, who came with him to St. John to negotiate with the Indians.

Just as Francklin and the missionary were leaving Halifax they received information that the Maliseets had plundered an English vessel, taken and ransomed another, robbed and disarmed many of the inhabitants and killed several cattle belonging to the King's loyal subjects on the River St. John, whom they had styled Torys, and that they had even returned to Fort Howe the King's flag, accompanied with a formal declaration of war.

The services of James White at this time were invaluable. At various times during the summer he went among the Indians to pacify them at great personal risk, always returning unharmed. This was due to the confidence placed in him by the majority of the savages, who had long known him in the capacity of an Indian trader. At this crisis Mr. White went up the river to meet the Indians. He found among them many of the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies under Nicholas Hawawes, a noted chief. They had been instructed by Allan to return the colors sent the previous year by Major Studholme, to ravage the country in the vicinity

of Fort Howe, to take prisoners and encourage the soldiers of the garrison to desert.

One of our early historians, Moses H. Perley, says that James White, unarmed and without any escort, met the war party at the head of the Long Reach as they were coming down the river in ninety canoes. He had a conference with the chiefs, who were disposed to be hostile; but Pierre Tomah, the head chief, before giving a final answer said that he must consult the Divine Being and throwing himself upon his face in the sand lay motionless for the space of nearly an hour. Then rising he informed the other chiefs that he had been counselled by the Great Spirit to keep peace with King George's men. This decision was not acceptable to some of the chiefs, and Mr. White was still engaged in his negotiations when Colonel Francklin and Father Bourg arrived at St. John, having crossed the Bay from Annapolis in the war ship Scarborough. Messengers were immediately sent up the river with the following letter:

“Fort Howe, 14 Sep. 1778.

“To Pierre Thomas and others the Indians of the River St. John.

“BRETHREN: According to my promise last fall I have brought with me Mr. Bourg, your Priest, to instruct you and to take care of your eternal welfare.

“BRETHREN: I am come to heal and adjust every difference that may exist between you and your Brethren the faithful subjects of King George your father my master.

“BRETHREN: As my heart is good, my hands clean and my intentions as white as snow; I desire Pierre Thomas and two or three other principal Indians

do immediately come down to Fort Howe with Mr. White my Deputy to speak to me and to Mr. Bourg that we may settle in what manner to proceed to accomplish my good intentions towards you, and that your minds may be made easy I do hereby pledge myself that no harm shall happen to you from any of the King's Troops or others of His Majesty's subjects.

( Signed )      MICH. FRANCKLIN,  
Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

The Indians promptly accepted the invitation and a conference was held which Francklin terms, "A grand meeting of the Indians at Menaguashe in the Harbour of the River St. John near Fort Howe on Thursday, the 24th September, 1778."

There were present on the part of King George :

Michael Francklin, Superintendent of Indian affairs ; Major Studholme, commanding the garrison at Fort Howe ; Capt. Mowatt, commanding his Majesty's ship Albany ; Rev. Mr Bourg, missionary to the Indians ; James White, agent for Indian affairs at St. John, and several other officers and gentlemen. The Indian delegates included Pierre Tomah, supreme sachem or chief of St. John's River ; Francis Xavier, 2nd chief ; and four captains and eight principal Indians, representing the Maliseets. There were also present delegates from Richibucto, Miramichi, Chignecto and Minas.

Col. Francklin informed the Indians that according to his promise he had brought them a priest and it was his desire to settle and adjust amicably all differences between the Indians and his Majesty's subjects. The proceedings of the conference are detailed at length in Francklin's report to the Governor of Nova Scotia. The

Indians after listening to the addresses of Francklin and Monsieur Bourg declared that they had been deceived by John Allan of Machias who had not spoken their sentiments but his own ; they acknowledged their offences and offered to restore to the white inhabitants the arms and other articles in their possession ( not consumed or destroyed ) which they had taken, and promised that they would deliver to James White in the course of the winter, two hundred pounds of beaver or as many moose skins, in lieu thereof, towards making good the damage done by them. They added that they were poor and had been kept from hunting by the idle stories of Allan and his confederates.

Michael Francklin did not lose the opportunity to give Allan "a Rowland for his Oliver." As Allan had been the author of the Indian declaration of war so would Francklin now dictate a message in reply. This message was couched in the following terms :

"To John Allan and his Associates at Machias :

"The Chiefs and Great men of the Malecete and Mickmack Indians hereby give thee notice :

"That their eyes are now open and they see clearly that thou hast endeavored to blind them to serve thy wicked purposes against thy lawful sovereign King George, our forgiving and affectionate Father.

"We have this day settled all misunderstandings that thou didst occasion between us and King George's men.

"We now desire that thee and Preble, and thy Comrades will remain in your wigwams at Machias and not come to Passamaquadie to beguile and disturb our weak and young Brethren. We will have nothing to do with thee or them or with your storys, for we have found you

out ; and if you persist in tempting us we warn you to take care of yourselves. We shall not come to Machias to do you harm, but beware of Passamaquadie for we forbid you to come there.

“ At Menaguashe, the 24th September, 1778.

[ Signed ] Pierre Thomas, Francis Xavier, Chiefs of the Malecetes ; Jean Baptiste Arimph, Chief of Richibouctou, in behalf of the Mickmacks.

During the conference Father Bourg produced a letter he had received from the Bishop of Quebec instructing him not to suffer any Indian to enter his church who should molest the white settlers or take part against the constituted authorities of Nova Scotia, and directing him to forward a list of the names of any Indians who should disobey to Quebec that he might “ cast them out of the Church as disobedient and undutiful children.”

The Indians were not long in deciding to make terms with the British and take the oath of allegiance. Accordingly the chiefs, captains and other delegates on their knees took a solemn oath of fidelity to his Majesty King George the Third. They also promised to give information of any hostile designs of the enemy that should come to their knowledge, to protect the persons of Michael Francklin and Joseph Mathurin Bourg, their missionary, from insult, outrage or captivity, to take no part directly or indirectly against the King in the troubles then existing, but to follow their hunting and fishing in a peaceable and quiet manner and not to go to Machias or hold any communication with the people of that neighborhood.

Having taken the oath the Indians delivered to Col. Francklin a string of Wampum as a solemn confirma-

tion of their act and deed. They also delivered up the presents sent them by General Washington together with the treaty they had made in 1776, in which they had promised to furnish 600 warriors for the service of the United States Congress.

Although the Indians, by the treaty they had just signed, ostensibly settled all the differences between themselves and "King George's men," there were still certain functions dear to the savage heart to be performed before the grand pow-wow was ended. They united very cordially with the English delegates in drinking the King's health, and Colonel Francklin decorated the chiefs and captains with his own hands and distributed clothing and presents to the other Indians. After this, "the night, altho' rainy, was spent in the open air with great mirth under the British Flag." The next day the Indians went on board the Albany man-of-war, where they again very cheerfully drank the King's good health, and were presented with a pound of gunpowder each. They concluded the afternoon and evening on shore "with satisfaction and good humor." Colonel Francklin concludes his official report of the proceedings as follows :

"The 26th September the Indians, being on their departure, were saluted at 12 o'clock by the cannon of Fort Howe and his Majesty's ship Albany, and it was returned by three Huzzas and an Indian Whoop. Then the Micmac Chief made a handsome speech and delivered to the Superintendent a string of Wampum on behalf of the whole Micmac nation, as their seal of approbation and agreement to everything that had been transacted. This being finished, the Superintendent, Major Studholme and Rev. Mr. Bourg were desired to

seat themselves, when a Malecete captain began a song and dance in honor and praise of the Conference and those concerned therein. On his finishing, a Micmac captain began another song and dance to the same purpose. The Superintendent then, with Major Studholme and the Rev. Mr. Bourg and the other Gentlemen, marched off with the Indians to the portage above the falls of the River St. John and stayed there until Mr. Bourg and the Indians embarked, when the Gentlemen on the landing were saluted by the musquetry from the Indian canoes."

During the continuance of the conference Francklin kept a table for the entertainment of the Indians which cost him £40; and the value of the presents and supplies furnished on the occasion amounted to £537 more. The goods required were mostly obtained from the store at Portland Point and the account rendered to Francklin by William Hazen is yet in existence. It contains some curious items. The presents to the Indians included blankets, hats, ribbons, gold and silver lace, intermixed with axes, pots, kettles, knives and tobacco. Among the more expensive presents were "1 large Silver plated Cross with the figure of our Saviour on it, £3, 10s., 0d.," and "1 small Gold plated Cross with the figure of our Saviour on it, £2, 6d. 8s." Dr. Sharman, surgeon at Fort Howe, was paid for attendance and medicines for Pierre Thoma and four other sick Indians £5. 16s. 8d. There was paid to Acmobish for 3 Beaver Traps stolen by the soldiers, £1. 10s. 0d., and to Charles Nocout ten dollars, to make up for an Englishman's beating of him.

While Francklin and Studholme are deservedly entitled to credit for the success of the negotiations, there

is not the least doubt that just as much credit is due to James White, the deputy agent of Indian affairs. Mr. White although acting in a subordinate capacity, was in direct contact with the savages at the time they were most unfriendly, and his tact and fearlessness paved the way for the negotiations. For six months he devoted his time and energies to the task of conciliating the Indians, receiving from government the modest sum of one dollar for each day he was employed. Most potent of all, perhaps, in the ultimate results of the conference, was the presence of the missionary Bourg. It was this that inspired the Indians with confidence and when the missionary accompanied them on their return to Aukaque their satisfaction was unbounded.

The Indians still possess a traditionary knowledge of the treaty made at Fort Howe in September, 1778, and refer to it as the time when the Indian and the Englishman became "all one brother." Some of the Indians claim that when the treaty was made it was understood that an Indian should have the right to wander unmolested through the forest and to take the bark for his canoe or the splints for his basket-making wherever he might find them.

In order to cultivate friendly relations with the Indians and to guard against the attempts of the enemy to wean them from their allegiance it was decided to establish an Indian trading house for their accommodation at the place now known as Indiantown. The "Indian House" was built by James Woodman, who was a ship-wright by trade. Hazen, Simonds and White not long afterwards cut out a road to the Indian House, the course of which was nearly identical with that of the present "Main street." They also built a wharf at the landing and a

dwelling house which was occupied by one Andrew Lloyd who had the distinction of being the first settler at Indian-town.

Not many weeks after the signing of the treaty, Col. John Allan sent a band of Penobscot Indians to make a demonstration on the River St. John. They captured a small vessel about sixty miles up the river and plundered one or two of the inhabitants, but the only result was to alarm the settlers without producing any effect upon the Indians. Pierre Tomah and most of his tribe were at this time encamped at Indian Point on the north side of Grand Lake.

Never in all their history did the Maliseets receive so much attention as in the Revolutionary war, when they may be said to have lived at the joint expense of the contending parties. The peace of 1783 was a dismal thing for them. Their friendship became a matter of comparative indifference, the supplies from either party ceased and the influx of new settlers drove them from their old hunting grounds and obliged them to look for situations more remote.

The Indians resisted every temptation held out to them by the Americans during the year 1779, and welcomed Colonel Francklin and the Missionary Bourg in their principal villages with great rejoicing.

Major Studholme's post at Fort Howe was rendered more secure by the capture of Castine, at the mouth of the Penobscot River. The place was then known by its Indian name of Megabagaduce. Had there been a little more energy on the part of Admiral Collier, Machias would have shared the same fate, and the result might have been greatly to the advantage of the maritime provinces. The American congress would then have

had no foothold east of Saco, and Portland and all the coast to the St. Croix would have been, at the close of the war, as firmly in the possession of the English as any part of Nova Scotia. The American writer Kidder, in his interesting account of the military operations in eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution, says: "It is now generally conceded that our present boundary was fixed mainly on the ground of occupation, and had we not been able to hold our eastern outpost at Machias, we cannot say what river in Maine would now divide us from a British province."

Sir Guy Carleton, not long after his appointment to the command at Quebec, secured the allegiance of the Indian tribes of Canada, and at his instigation messages were sent to Machias early in April, 1779, desiring the Indians there to have no further connection with the Americans, adding that the Indians of Canada were coming across the woods, as soon as the leaves were as big as their nails, to destroy the settlements on the Penobscot and the Kennebec. The message contained a further assurance that nine thousand Indians were ready to execute any orders they might receive from the British general in Canada.

An important meeting took place on the River St. John on June 24th, 1780. Deputies from the Ottawas, Hurons and other Canadian tribes attended and made an address to the Maliseets and Micmacs which was in substance as follows :

"We come to warn you that the Boston people, having destroyed several of our villages, killed our wives and children and carried off our young women by force, we to revenge ourselves for these outrages have declared war against them. If there are yet remaining among

them any of your people, let them withdraw immediately, for they will be treated like the enemy if they remain with them. Therefore our dear Brothers we tell you to remain quiet and in peace. We have 13,000 men assembled, who are allied against the Boston people and they have already taken twenty-seven villages larger than Three Rivers in Canada. To burn their villages they sent more than 300 lighted arrows which instantly destroyed their houses, a great part of the Inhabitants were burnt and those who attempted to escape were put to death. Now we demand your answer."

The Micmacs and Maliseets replied that so long as the King of England continued to leave them free liberty of hunting and fishing and to allow them priests for the exercise of their religion they would remain quiet and peaceable.

This grand Indian pow-wow seems to have been brought about largely by Francklin's diplomacy. He was not himself present at the meeting but the interests of the English were well looked after by Major Studholme, James White and the Missionary Bourg. The conference was held at Aakpaque and 300 warriors were present besides 600 women and children. Presents and supplies had been sent from Windsor to Fort Howe by the schooner Menaguash, for the Indians — blankets, shirts, blue and scarlet cloth, beaver hats, ribbons, powder and shot, and lastly, one cask of wine "for the squaws and such men as do not drink rum."

The arrival at Machias of messengers sent by Studholme assuring the Indians that if they would but come to Fort Howe they would be well treated and receive handsome presents made them extremely anxious to go. Soon after, three special messengers from Father

Bourg arrived, desiring the Indians to attend him immediately on business of the church. This invitation gave them a good excuse for going. For two days John Allan exercised all his powers of persuasion to keep them, but in vain; go they would. They assured him "that they only meant to see the priest, their souls being heavy and loaded with burthens of sins, and that they acted upon a duty commanded in their church which they could not neglect."

On the 3rd July nearly all the Indians, some women and children excepted, set out for Fort Howe. In a letter to Congress, Allan mournfully observes: "I am very unhappy in being obliged to acquaint you of this, after the success I have experienced in disappointing the Priest and Mr. Francklin these three years."

The situation of Studholme at Fort Howe was a difficult and uncomfortable one. His garrison, none too large at the best, was weakened by occasional desertions. John Allan in August, 1778, sent Nicholas Hawawes, an Indian chief, with a small party to the mouth of the St. John with orders to destroy the cattle around the Fort, take prisoners and encourage desertion. The Indians were provided with letters, written by deserters living at Machias, which they were instructed to convey secretly to the garrison.

Studholme took stern, and it may even seem terrible measures to repress desertion, as we learn from the following note to James White:

"Sir — I shall esteem it as a favor if you will endeavor to get some Indians to bring in the three deserters, for each of which I will give Ten Guineas. Should the soldiers make any opposition, the Indians are to make use of force, and if compelled to kill them, they are to

bring in their Heads, for each of which they will receive Ten Guineas.

In order to facilitate communication with Quebec, and afford protection to the settlements on the St. John, a block house was now built at the mouth of the Oromocto and a few soldiers stationed there under Lieutenant Constant Connor. The post was named Fort Hughes after the lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia. A number of log huts, or post houses, were also built, at intervals of about a day's journey, from the block house at Oromocto to the St. Lawrence. Over the route important messages were carried by couriers — sometimes Indians, though greater confidence was placed in the Acadians. The most famous couriers were Louis Mitchel and the brothers Louis and Michel Mercure. The couriers were quite aware of the value of their services, and demanded, and generally received one hundred dollars, for each trip from Fort Howe to Quebec. They were usually a fortnight going from Oromocto to Quebec in the summer and longer in the winter. The Indians were naturally excellent couriers, being swift of foot and possessing great powers of endurance, qualities that are by no means wanting in their descendants, as the following incident will show :

Some forty years ago a Maliseet Indian, named Peter Lola gave a remarkable exhibition of speed and endurance, which is still talked of by the older residents of Woodstock. The circumstances, briefly stated, were these. One pleasant summer morning Lola presented himself to the driver of the old four-in-hand stage coach which was just leaving the hotel at Fredericton for Woodstock, the distance being rather more than sixty The Indian desired a passage and offered the customary

fare. The driver, John Turner, was one of the most accomplished whips of the old stage coaching days, and popular with all travellers. As the stage coach was pretty full and the day promised to be very warm, Turner, after a brief consultation with his passengers, declined the Indian's money and upon Lola's remonstrating, told him in plain Saxon that the other passengers didn't like the smell of him, that his room was better than his company. This angered Peter and he said, "All right, John! Me be in Woodstock first!"

At 8 o'clock, a. m., Indian and stage coach left Fredericton together, and together they proceeded and in spite of Turner's endeavor to throw dust in the Indian's face the latter was always a little in advance. He stopped at every place the stage stopped to change horses (this occurred four or five times on the route) and took his dinner with all the solemnity of his race in the kitchen of the "Half-way House" where the passengers dined.

As they drew near their destination the Indian's savage nature seemed to assert itself; he ran like a deer, waving his cap at intervals as he passed the farm houses, and shouting defiantly. Turner now began to ply the whip, for he had no intention of allowing the red-skin to beat him out. The passengers began to wager their money on the result of the race and grew wild with excitement. The Indian village, three miles below Woodstock, was passed with Lola fifty yards in advance, but the village was not Peter's destination. He saluted it with a war-whoop and hurried on. It was still early in the afternoon when the citizens of Woodstock were aroused in a manner entirely unexpected. The stage coach came tearing into the town at the heels of an Indian who

was yelling like a demon and running as for his life, John Turner plying the whip in lively fashion, and four very hot and tired horses galloping at their utmost speed. The finish was a close one, but the Indian was ahead. As soon as he had regained his breath sufficiently to speak, Lola walked over to where Turner was standing and philosophically remarked, "John! me here first." Turner's answer is not recorded.

Our story should end here, but alas for poor human nature, it remains to be told that the Indian was soon surrounded by a crowd of friendly admirers, and before the close of the day was gloriously—or shall we say ingloriously—drunk.

Colonel Francklin's last general conference with the Maliseets was at Oromocto in the month of November, 1781, when he distributed presents to nearly four hundred Indians who had assembled. On this occasion he settled amicably some jealousies that had arisen about the election of chiefs. He tells us that the Indians were eager to go to the defence of the block-house on the occasion of a recent alarm, that they were grateful for the continuance of their missionary Bourg and were resolved to again plant corn on the river. At the close of the conference they quietly dispersed to their hunting.

In spite of the interference of war the furs collected by the Indians were very considerable for about this time Hazen and White sent a consignment to Halifax to be shipped to England, which included 571 Moose skins, 11 Caribou, 11 Deer, 3621 Musquash, 61 Otter, 77 Mink, 152 Sable, 40 Fishers, 6 Wolverene, 11 "Lucervers," 17 Red Fox, 6 Cross Fox, 9 Bear skins.

Michael Francklin continued to the last to cultivate the friendship of Pierre Tomah the old Maliseet

chieftain. The name of this well known Indian—variously spelled Thoma, Toma, Tomah, Tomer—is clearly of French origin, and was originally Thomas, which pronounced in French fashion is Tomah. The name Pierre 'Tomah was very common among the Micmacs and Maliseets, so common indeed as to make it difficult to distinguish between individuals. A few observations will enable the reader to see what splendid opportunities there are for confusion in regard to the Indians who bore the name.

On June 5, 1768, there was a double wedding in the family of Governor Tomah at which the Abbé Bailly officiated and which no doubt was the occasion of great festivity at Aukpaque. The old chief's son Pierre Tomah, jr., wedded an Indian maiden named Marie Joseph, and his daughter Marie Belanger married Pierre Kesit. The younger Pierre 'Tomah was probably his father's successor as chief of the Maliseets.

John Curry, Esq., of Charlotte County says that when he came to Passamaquoddy in 1770 there was an Indian place of worship and a burial ground on St. Andrew's Point at the mouth of the River St. Croix, and that among those whom he recollected to have been buried there were John Neptune ( alias Bungawarrawit ) governor of the Passamaquoddy tribe, and a " chief of the St. John's Tribe known by the name of Pierre Toma." There can be little doubt that the latter was our old chief Toma. His wife was one of the Neptune family whose home was at Passamaquoddy.

When Frederick Dibblee made a return of the native Indians settled at Meductic in 1788 he includes in his list Governor Toma, his wife and four children. Two years later we find Governor Toma living at the mouth

of the Becaguimec and tilling his cornfield now the site of the town of Hartland.

In August, 1827, Sir Howard Douglas visited the historic Indian village of Medoctec, where he was introduced to an Indian named Pierre Toma (or Toma Pierre) aged 93 years. The old warrior had lost an eye and an arm in the battle of the Heights of Abraham in 1759. He was carefully provided for by the kindly hearted governor.

On New Year's day, 1841, a large body of the Maliseet tribe of Indians, including a considerable number of well dressed squaws, headed by their old old chief Toma, appeared at Government House to pay their annual compliments, and were received by His Excellency Sir John Harvey, with great kindness. His Excellency availed himself of the occasion publicly to decorate the worthy old chief with a splendid silver medallion suspended by a blue ribbon, exhibiting a beautiful effigy of Queen Victoria on one side, with the Royal Arms on the reverse. The frequent recurrence of the name of Pierre Tomah as shown above renders it necessary to pay careful attention to dates, in order to avoid confounding different chiefs bearing the name.

The Toma family were remarkable for longevity. When the writer of this history was a boy there lived at the Indian village, three miles below the Town of Woodstock, a very intelligent and industrious Indian, whose bent, spare figure was a familiar object to travellers along the country roads. It would be hard to count the number of baskets and moccasins the old man carried on his back to town for sale. He was born at Medoctec in 1789 and died at Woodstock not long ago at the age of nearly one hundred years.

While speaking of the Maliseet Chiefs it may be mentioned that the Indians occasionally admitted one of the whites to the order of chieftain. This compliment, as we have seen in a former chapter, they paid to Villebon, when he was governor at Fort Nachouac and to Col. John Allan during the Revolution. A similar compliment was paid in more recent years to Moses H. Perley, who was a great friend of the Indians. Mr. Perley in 1840 visited England and was presented to Queen Victoria in the character of an Indian chief, wearing on the occasion a very magnificent costume of ornamental bead-work, plumes, and so forth. He received at the Queen's hands a silver medal three inches in diameter, on the edge of which was engraved, "From Her Most Gracious Majesty to M. H. Perley, Chief Sachem of the Milicetes and Wungeet Sagamore of the Micmac nation. A. D., 1840." This medal is still in the possession of his descendants.

It will be noticed that the St. John river Indians are termed "Milicetes" in the above inscription. The form Milicete, or Melicete used by Gesner and Perley, has been followed by the majority of our provincial writers. Dr. Hannay, however, in his history of Acadia, retains the spelling of Villebon and other early writers, Malicite, which is almost identical with the Latin form, Malecitrae, on the stone tablet of the chapel built by Jean Loyard at Medoctec in 1717. Either of these pronounced in French fashion is practically the same Maliseet, the form adopted by modern students of Indian lore, and which has been followed in this book.

## CHAPTER XX.

Forest Wealth of the St. John — Masts for the King's Navy — McNutt and Others Object to Reservation of Pine Trees — The Surveyor of King's Woods — William Davidson, our First Lumberman — Masts Arrive at Fort Howe — Francklin, Hazen and White's Masting Contract — Old Time Bill of Lading — Peabody and Davidson at Loggerheads — Rapid Development of the Timber Trade — The Glasiers and Their Work.



WHEN the western part of what is now the Province of New Brunswick was organized into one immense county of the Province of Nova Scotia in 1765 there was no English settlement north of St. Anne's and the valley of St. John was very sparsely people from that place to the sea. Nevertheless the immense forest wealth of the country was gradually getting to be known and appreciated. The enormous lumbering operations now carried on upon the St. John and its tributaries had their small beginning more than two centuries ago when masts for the French navy were cut by order of the King of France. Mon. Dièreville states that in 1700 the man of war *Avenant*, of 44 guns, shipped at St. John some very fine masts for the French navy, which had been manufactured by 14 carpenters and mast makers. The masts were safely delivered in France after a prosperous voyage of 33 days.

After Acadia passed into the hands of the British they in turn began to regard the River St. John and similar places as a reserve for masts for the navy. Britain's place among the nations then, as now, depended on her

navy, and the reservation of trees suitable for masts for the largest ships of war became a matter of national concern. In consequence Governor Legge, at the request of the home government, desired Charles Morris, the Surveyor general of Nova Scotia, to report as to ungranted lands that might be reserved for the purpose of supplying masts for the Royal navy. On the 21st May, 1774, Mr. Morris submitted his report which he states was based upon personal observations during a residence of nearly twenty-eight years, in the course of which he had visited nearly all parts of the province. In the Nova Scotian peninsula there were very few pines fit for masts, but on the River St. John, above the settlements, and on the rivers flowing into it were great quantities of pine trees fit for masts and great quantities of others growing into that state, which being so far inland, protected by growth of other timber and by hills, and remote from those violent gales which infest the coast would prove the most desirable reserve for the purpose intended. Mr. Morris was of opinion that a reserve of all the lands on the River St. John above the settlements, at least twenty-five miles on each side, would be the most advantageous reserve to the Crown of any lands within the province, especially as the river was everywhere navigable for boats and rafting of masts as also for the rafting of masts in the several branches of it. He speaks of "a black spruce, fit for yards and top-masts, and other timber fit for ship-building."

The importance to coming generations of the "black spruce," was little dreamed of by Charles Morris. However, it seems that in accordance with his recommendation the region of the upper St. John was now reserved to the crown because its towering pines supplied

the bests masts in the world for the British navy, and at the close of the American Revolution it was still unbroken forest.

In the first land grants issued by Governor Montagu Wilmot there was no reservation to the Crown of white pines, but on May 15th 1766, a committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations recommended to the King in Council that all future grants made in Nova Scotia should contain a clause reserving to the Crown "all white or other pine trees of the growth of 24 inches diameter and upwards" and declaring that if such trees should be cut or felled without license from the surveyor general of the woods or the Governor of the Province, the lot or share of land on which the trees were cut or destroyed should be forfeited and revert to the crown. The committee of the Lords of Trade claimed that this condition was not only necessary in itself, but in accordance with what had been done in other colonies for the preservation of the King's Woods, and that it was a restriction highly expedient until some more perfect and effectual plan could be adopted for so national and important an object..

Col. Alexander McNutt, was in London at this time and he entered a vigorous protest against the reservation of pine trees of 24 inches diameter as likely greatly to retard the settlement of Nova Scotia. He says, "It makes but little difference to the farmer what kind of timber or wood be reserved, whether white pine, gopher, or shittim wood (if there be any reservation at all) as his lands will be always reliable to forfeiture at the pleasure of the informer, who may be a knight of the post ready to swear anything and everything to answer his purpose. If such timber should be found upon a

man's farm, he is not at liberty to clear the land for his own support, if he should cut down a tree of 24 inches diameter he thereby forfeits his land. The only way to preserve the timber is to give the farmer his deed without any reservation, for otherwise it cannot be expected that any farmer will let any tree grow to that size as he thereby forfeits his land if he should use it. Consequently he will destroy all the young growths. No such reservation has hitherto been made, and to begin now must have a tendency to prevent the settlement of the colony. No doubt His Majesty will find people ready to take grants of all the lands to the north pole without ever making the least enquiry about the terms, but people who propose to spend their all in the improvement of lands ought to be very careful what tenure they hold them by. The farmer's case must be very disagreeable if, in order to secure his land from forfeiture, he must prevent white pine trees coming to the dimensions specified in the grant, and should he want any for his own use he must bring them from the ungranted lands, by which means the timber upon the ungranted lands will soon be destroyed as well as upon the granted."

In spite of Col. McNutt's vigorous remonstrance a clause reserving to His Majesty all white pine trees was inserted in the grants of lands made in the Province of Nova Scotia.

As long ago as the days of George I., the British parliament had passed an act (A. D. 1722) prohibiting the cutting or destroying of white pine trees 12 inches in diameter and upwards in the King's Woods in North America and in 1729 it was further enacted that the same penalties should be extended to trees growing on

granted lands. So great was the anxiety manifested for the preservation of trees suitable for masts, that in the grants made in New Brunswick when the province was first constituted the words were inserted in all land grants, "Saving and reserving nevertheless to us, our heirs and successors all white pine trees." Under the regulations of parliament the Surveyor General of the Woods and his deputies had a legal right to seize all white pine timber although it might have been cut by the farmer on his own land. It was the custom of the Surveyor of the Woods to grant license to cut and take away such pine timber as was "unfit for His Majesty's service and the standing of which was detrimental to cultivation;" but this was only done after inspection, and marking with the "broad-arrow" any trees that were fit for the navy.

The enforcement of the regulations for the protection and preservation of pine timber was entrusted to Sir John Wentworth, Surveyor of the King's Woods in North America. He was a discreet and able man of polished manners and kindly disposition, but the office he filled was a very unpopular one.

Colonel Thomas Carleton, the first Governor of New Brunswick, wrote on one occasion to the Secretary of State: "Under the regulations for preserving masting timber the deputies appointed by the surveyor of the woods have, or assume to have, authority to seize all pine timber which they find in the possession of any one, though it may have been cut on his own ground. I feel it my duty to submit it to the consideration of His Majesty's ministers whether it may not be expedient to relinquish this restriction on private property, which has a tendency to discourage the advancement of cultivation and settlement in the province."

Sir John Wentworth attempted to justify the enforcement of the regulations as a matter of national importance. He quoted the experience of New England where, after the restrictions of the surveyor general's office had been removed, the mast timber had been so largely destroyed that it was scarcely possible to procure a cargo of large masts, and those that were to be had were held at enormous prices. Even if the government were to grant all the lands available for settlement, it did not follow, he argued, that the efficiency of the navy should be imperilled and the mast timber pass into the hands of speculators or its preservation be left entirely to the discretion of the owners of the soil.

Wentworth's deputies continued to range the woods, and many a tall, stately pine bore the mark of the "broad-arrow" in token that it was reserved for the royal navy. It was not until about the year 1811 that the reservation of white pine trees was no longer insisted upon by the crown.

A few words must now be devoted to William Davidson the pioneer of the masting industry on the River St. John. Mr. Davidson came from Inverness in the north of Scotland to Miramichi in 1765. The government of Nova Scotia were very ready at this time to grant large tracts of land to such individuals as they supposed likely to promote the settlement of the country and accordingly on the 31st October, 1765, granted a tract of 100,000 acres at the mouth of the Miramichi to Wm. Davidson and John Cort. Mr. Davidson engaged in the fishery and fur trade and in the year 1773 built the first schooner launched upon the Miramichi. Not long after this the Revolutionary war began and the conduct of his Indian neighbors, who were instigated by

the "Rebels," became so "extreamly outrageous," that he was obliged to seek an asylum for his family on the River St. John, where his wife, whose maiden name was Sarah Nevers, had formerly resided. He accordingly left Miramichi on the 1st of November, 1777, and came to Mougerville where he purchased land and stock in order to follow farming till the times should change. His location was near the head of Oromocto Island. The following summer he was plundered by the Indians of all the goods they could lay their hands on, having been pointed out by the rebels as a person attached to his Majesty's interest. Being at Halifax in October, 1779, and finding that Government had endeavored to procure white pine masts for the Royal Navy both in Nova Scotia and the Island of Cape Breton without success, and that it was believed that no white pine could be procured fit for the purpose, Mr. Davidson stepped forward and made proposals to the Lieut. Governor, Sir Richard Hughes, to deliver masts, yards, bowsprits, etc., at Fort Howe, trimmed and fit for shipping. A contract was immediately entered into for a certain number of masts, yards, bowsprits and oar rafters such as Government wanted. But the officers of the King's navy yard were of the opinion that even if there were timber on the river such as was wanted, it would be impossible in view of the hostility of the people of Machias and the Indians to deliver the masts under the protection of Fort Howe. The commissioner of the navy yard would not therefore risk the advance of any of the public money until the masts were safely delivered.

Colonel Francklin was quite alive to the necessity of giving careful attention to the Indians at this juncture,

for the Machias rebels had threatened to destroy the "King's masts" and were endeavoring to get the Indians to harass the mast cutters and obstruct them in every possible way. He therefore sent the following letter to Pierre Thomas by James White, his deputy :

"Windsor, 29th November, 1779.

"My Brother — Mr. Davidson is now employed on the River St. John for the King my Royal master. I therefore request you will afford him and all his people every assistance and protection in your power. I flatter myself if any party of Rebels or Indians should attempt to disturb Mr. Davidson that you and your people will prevent it, and if necessary take up arms for that purpose. The Governor of Nova Scotia sends to Major Studholme some presents for you ; they are intended to encourage you to protect Mr. Davidson ; receive them and be true to the trust that his Excellency reposes in you. Major Studholme is your friend and advocate and desires that all your faults may be overlooked and buried ; therefore they are all forgot and will be thought of no more.

Present my best compliments to all the Captains, Councillors, and other Indians of the River St. John, and I do not forget their wives and children."

(Signed),      MICH. FRANKLIN.

Franklin soon afterwards sent a consignment of goods to Fort Howe in the schooner Menaguashe, as an inducement to the Indians to protect Mr. Davidson's men in their work. In the letter accompanying the presents he says :

"Brethern, — King George wants masts for his ships and has employed people to provide them on your

river, depending on you to protect the workmen in cutting them and conveying them to Fort Howe. The Governor sends you some presents, which Major Studholme will deliver you. They are intended to bind fast your promise that you will protect the Mast Cutters."

The presents were delivered at Aukpaque by James White and the masts were brought safely to Fort Howe from whence they were forwarded to Halifax in one of the navy transports.

Great Britain was at this time engaged in a struggle for national existence. She was at war not only with the colonies in rebellion, but with France, Holland and Spain, and that without a single ally. Under such circumstances it was absolutely necessary that her navy should be as efficient as possible. The dock-yards were busy places and we need not be surprised that good prices were paid for masts, yards, bowsprits and ship timber in general. The sums paid varied with the size of the tree. A mast 18 inches in diameter and 70 feet in length was valued at £10 sterling, but a mast 36 inches in diameter and 108 feet long was worth £136 sterling. The prices rapidly increased as the maximum dimensions were neared, indicating that timber of the largest size was rare.

The success that attended William Davidson's masting operations led William Hazen and James White to engage in the same business. They were fortunate in securing the co-operation of Colonel Francklin, with whom they entered into partnership in the summer of 1781 for general trade and "masting." Francklin's influence at Halifax and the friendship of Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, lieutenant governor and commissioner of the navy yard, proved of advantage to

the partners. Their first year's work was highly satisfactory and they were able to deliver, in pursuance of their contract, thirty-seven masts valued at £1098. 16s. 3d. ; sixty-five yards valued at £1502 ; 8 bow-sprits valued at £181 and 20 M. feet white ash oar rafters valued at £156 so that the firm received upwards of \$14,000 from government on the year's masting operations. Some of the sticks obtained were of very large size including a mast, 91½ feet long and 35 inches in diameter, and a yard 108 feet long and 26 inches in diameter, for which sticks they received respectively \$450 and \$350. Samuel Peabody was foreman and director of the company's operations. While the profits of the business were considerable the expenses too were heavy. The wages of the workmen and laborers in a short time nearly doubled and the cost of provisions and supplies increased. In the course of a few months Col. Francklin sent three consignments of goods to St. John, amounting in value to about \$6,000. A bill of lading in those days was a quaint document, witness the following :

“SHIPPED by the Grace of God, by John Butler Dight in and upon the good Ship called the Young William, Naval Store Ship, whereof is master, under God, for this present Voyage, George Hastings, and now ripping at anchor in the Harbour of Halifax, and by God's Grace bound for Fort Howe, River St. John in the Bay of Fundy. [Here follows enumeration of goods] To be delivered in good order and well conditioned at the Port of Fort Howe ( the danger of the seas only excepted. )

In Witness whereof the master of the said Ship hath affirmed to three Bills of Lading, all of this tenor and

date; the one of which three Bills being accomplished, the other two to stand void.

And so GOD send the Good Ship to her desired Port in safety. Amen.

Dated in Halifax 23rd April, 1782.

G. HASTINGS."

In order to fill the contract by the time fixed, Samuel Peabody found it necessary to cruise the woods over a wide area, selecting trees that grew not far from the banks of the streams, which might be "bowsed in" by oxen with block and tackle. He complains, "Our common laborers value their hire very high, as there is so many mast cutting, running from place to place to get sticks for the highest bidder. Pork, beef and corn is very scarce and dear, the two former not to be bought."

"Some chocolate is wanted for our Masting Camp for at present we use Spruce Tea, which causes some murmuring."

Col. Francklin procured at Halifax many of the articles needed for the mast cutters. Camp supplies were expensive. Flour retailed in Halifax at \$11.00 per bbl., and the freight to Fort Howe was \$1.50 per bbl. Pork cost at Halifax \$25.00 per bbl. and upwards. Some skilled hewers of timber were sent from Windsor. Nevertheless the masting operations were carried on after a primitive fashion, and Mr. Peabody was constantly obliged to write for articles needed by his workmen. In one of his letters he says, "The men are very bad off for Bread, and people cannot work without good food, besides it takes much time in baking Indian cakes for them in the woods, one hand continually imploy'd.  
\* \* We are very badly off indeed for Chalk lines, having nothing of that kind to make use of but twine."

Mr. Davidson according to his rival's testimony was in an equally trying position :

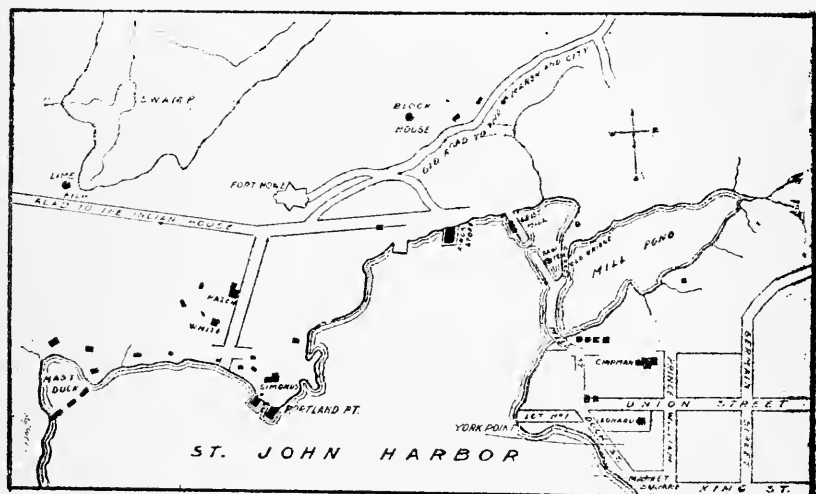
"Davidson is almost done — his situation is this : no workmen, no rum, no provision, he's nearly possesst of Pandora's Box."

The population of the townships on the St. John was small at this time and, as men and oxen were in demand both in winter and summer, the cultivation and improvement of farms was retarded and a spirit of speculation and unrest introduced into the country destined ere long to bear pernicious fruit. In consequence of the keen competition between Messrs. Peabody and Davidson the hire of a yoke of oxen was as much as seven shillings and six pence a day and difficult to obtain at that. The exigencies of the situation were such that Peabody ventured to press into service a pair of fat oxen that had been sent down the river from St. Anne's by Philip Weade for an entirely different purpose. This was not at all pleasing to Hazen & White who wrote : "We are much surprised that you stopped the particular pair of oxen which we desired last fall to be stall fed for the use of the officers of the garrison here and ourselves, which hath left them and us without a good slice of beef."

The masts, spars, bowsprits and all other timber, prepared in the woods by the workmen, were hauled to the water by oxen. Trees growing near the stream were "bowsed out" — that is, hauled with block and tackle to the river, and were then rafted and floated, or towed by sloops, to Fort Howe, where they were stored for shipment in the mast pond.

The mast pond was a little cove to the west of Portland Point, very near the site of the present Portland Rolling

Mills. The situation will be seen in the plan. It was closed and fenced in by the British government for the purpose of receiving the masts. For the encouragement of the contractors it was agreed that in case the enemy should make a descent on the Port of St. John in order to destroy the masts lying there, the damages sustained should fall on Government and not upon the Contractors,



provided that all proper endeavors were used to save the masts.

It is rather a curious circumstance that very soon after Francklin, Hazen and White embarked in the masting business, they found themselves at loggerheads with William Davidson, whose workmen they had for two years been endeavoring to protect from interference on the part of the Machias people and the Indians. In point of fact Mr. Davidson suffered greater annoyance at the hands of Sam Peabody's mast cutters than he ever

experienced from the Yankees of Machias or the Indians of the River St. John.

Under his agreement with government Mr. Davidson had a special order to cut mast timber, yards, etc., for his Majesty's service wherever he could find any. Under this roving commission his mast-cutters came into contact on several occasions with those of the other contractors and in a short time there was bad blood between them.

Samuel Peabody, who had charge of the operations of Francklin, Hazen and White, was a man of resolute and somewhat aggressive spirit. William Davidson on his part, possessed all the energy and determination for which the Scotch race is noted. The state of affairs existing on the River St. John in consequence of the keen rivalry in the masting business was by no means harmonious. The sympathies of the people were divided, some sided with Hazen, White and Peabody and others took the part of Davidson.

Exaggerated rumors were constantly in circulation as to the designs of the respective parties, each of which seems to have tried to get the better of the other, and in a very short time a lamentable lack of confidence prevailed. Samuel Peabody complained that Mr. Davidson's mast-cutters kept sallying out upon all quarters and that they paid no regard to the rights of the proprietors of the townships of the St. John's River Society. As William Hazen, James White and their friends were grantees of the townships they not unnaturally regarded Mr. Davidson as an intruder. The climax came when Davidson's men cut some fine mast timber upon an 8,000 acre tract on the Oromocto lately granted to William Hazen and James White. Samuel

Peabody at once proceeded to appropriate and trim the trees that had been cut down by his rival. This led to a spirited remonstrance on the part of William Davidson who wrote to Peabody that he had a special order from Government to cut masts for his Majesty's use wherever he could find them, and, he adds, "If, by some kind of means, the people you're concerned with afterwards got a grant of the lands on which they were, it could not be supposed to extend to a prior right any other person had derived from as good authority. I shall not take the trouble to say any more on the subject than to desire you will from this time desist from meddling with any sticks that have been cut for me, and also relinquish what you have already meddled with. I wish to live peaceably, but I have lately experienced so many instances of your most bare-faced and wanton oppression, to my prejudice, that there's no longer a doubt with me what course I must be under the disagreeable necessity to take."

Mr. Peabody on his part made protests with regard to Mr. Davidson's conduct that were equally vigorous. He had sent a small party up the Nashwaak to try the timber there and he says: "Upon Davidson's understanding I was determined to try that place, he immediately sent a party of French up that River, commanded by Israel Perley, to cut all the Timber that fell in his way, among which was a large Tree that I suppose was marked for us by Mr. Hayes, as he tells people that it had several Broad Arrows on it. At the same time that Davidson dispatched this party he sent another party back of Thomas Langin's upon the growth of Pine Mr. Hayes had pitched upon for us. I am going with 8 or 10 hands to cut sum fine Trees up

Oromocto, near where Davidson is steering his course, as he should be paid in his own coin. I have employed sum men to cut Trees by the jobb up Oromocto, and by searching, they say, that there may be had some fine-lengthy Trees, but not of the greatest diameter.

In passing we may note that Thomas Langan, mentioned above, was at this time the only English speaking settler north of St. Anne's. The lot on which he had settled in the township of Sunbury was about four miles above Fredericton. He lived in a log house and had about 20 acres of land improved that had been cleared chiefly by the French. The Indians in the neighbourhood killed his cattle and gave him so much annoyance that after six years he was obliged to remove with his family to Burton. The Indians were opposed to any attempt on the part of the English to settle above St. Anne's. They considered themselves the hereditary owners of the soil and that Langan and any others who ventured above St. Anne's were trespassers on their rights.

In regard to the masting business the fact that Wm. Davidson was first in the field gave him some advantage. The Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Richard Hughes, wrote to Lieut. Connor, who commanded the small garrison posted at the Oromoto blockhouse, asking him to give Mr. Davidson all the assistance in his power. This Lieut. Connor continued to do after the other contractors came into the field much to the disgust of Samuel Peabody. Mr. Davidson's influence on the River St. John is shown by the fact that he was elected a member of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly for the County of Sunbury. He returned to Miramichi about the time the Loyalists came to the province, and died there in 1790. His tomb-stone in the old cemetery on Beaubear's Point bears the following inscription :

SACRED TO THE MEMORY  
OF  
WILLIAM DAVIDSON, Esq.

Representative of the County of Northumberland, Province of New Brunswick, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Contractor for Masts for His Majesty's Navy.

He died on the 17th of June, 1790, aged 50. He was one of the first settlers of the river, and greatly instrumental in promoting the settlement.

He left a widow and five children to deplore his loss.

“MOMENTO MORI.”

The extent of William Davidson's masting operations must have been very considerable, for Hazen & White wrote to Colonel Francklin in March, 1782. “Davidson will have about 200 sticks out this season and near as many more fell in the woods, having employed almost half the Inhabitants in cutting.”

The pines of our primeval forests were evidently of magnificent proportions. Samuel Peabody mentions cutting a mast 38 inches in diameter and a yard 110 feet in length and 26 inches in diameter and other timber of nearly equal size. Large pines were found at this time at St. Anne's and above, on the Nashwaak and Oromocto rivers and on the shores of Grand Lake. The settlers joined in the quest of white pine trees for masting timber which when found they disposed of to the highest bidder. Even the Acadians of French Village, on Hammond River, shared in the general assault on the unfortunate white pine, for in a letter written to Colonel Francklin

Hazen & White, dated at Fort Howe, 23rd March, 1782, the remark occurs "The French people at Kanibikashes have about 100 sticks cut. They say they will be able to get out and bring to Fort Howe, this spring about 40 sticks, the others they can get out in the Summer."

The development of the masting industry was rapid. Sir Richard Hughes wrote to Lord Germaine in April, 1781, that upwards of 200 sticks for masts, yards and bowsprits had been cut, squared and approved by the King's purveyor at the River St. John in the course of the fall and winter, and that one of the navy transports was then at Fort Howe loading a cargo of masts. The year the Loyalists arrived, Captain John Munro, in his report on the state of settlement says, "On the River St. John are the finest masts and spars that I have ever seen. I saw at Fort Howe about six thousand pounds worth. Two ships were loading when I left that place. I suppose there were masts sufficient there to load ten ships."

The masting business was important in the early days of New Brunswick. Vessels were built expressly for the trade, and, being of large size, and usually sailing under protection of a man-of-war, they became the favorite passenger ships. Improvement was gradually made in the way the operations were conducted nevertheless the methods employed down to 1825 were crude. In that year Peter Fisher writes. "In this country there is no article that can in any degree furnish export equal to the pine, which is manufactured in the simplest manner with but little trouble. So simple is the process that most settlers who understand the use of the axe can manufacture it, the woods furnishing a sort of simple manufactory for the inhabitants, from which, after

attending to their farms in the summer, they can draw returns during the winter for the supplies which are necessary for the comfort of their families." Mr. Fisher, however, enters a strong protest against what was, even in his day a growing evil, namely, the wanton destruction of valuable young timber by people who were merely speculators, and had no regard for the future.

The rapid increase in the lumber industry is seen in the fact that in 1824 there was shipped from the port of St. John 114,116 tons of Pine and Birch timber; 11,534,000 feet of Pine boards and planks; 1,923,000 staves; 491,000 Pine shingles; 1,918 masts and spars; 2,698 handspikes, oars and oar rafters; and 1,435 cords of lathwood; while in addition large quantities were shipped from Miramichi, St. Andrews, Richibucto and Bathurst. Up to 1825 there is scarcely any mention of Spruce lumber as an article of export. The first Spruce deals cut in New Brunswick were sawn in 1819, and the first cargo, which consisted of only 100,000 superficial feet, was shipped to England in 1822.

Benjamin Glasier, brother of Colonel Beamsley Glasier, was one of those who assisted in filling the mast contracts of Hazen, White and Peabody. In early manhood he had served in the French and Indian wars as a lieutenant in the Massachusetts infantry. His commission, signed by Thomas Hutchinson, the last Royal Governor of Massachusetts, is yet preserved in the family. He came to the River St. John in 1779 and settled at "Morrissania," six miles below Fredericton, where he purchased a tract of 1,000 acres of land from Benjamin Bubier on which his descendants of the fourth generation still reside. Benjamin Glasier was the progenitor of the well known family, of which the late

Senator John Glasier, familiarly known as "the main John Glasier," and his brothers Stephen, Duncan and Benjamin were members. The operations of the Glasiers in lumbering and shipbuilding extended over nearly a century. At one time they were undoubtedly the largest operators in New Brunswick, employing over six hundred men. For many years their production was principally pine timber, which was shipped to Liverpool. They may be regarded as pioneers in lumbering on the St. John River.

The late Senator Glasier began his lumbering operations on the Shogomoc, in York County, and afterwards in company with his brother Stephen, extended them to the waters of the upper St. John. He was the first lumberman to bring a drive over the Grand Falls, and is said to have been the first white man to explore the Squattook lakes. The phrase, "The Main John Glasier" originated with an Irishman named Paddy McGarrigle, who was employed as a cook. It was soon universally adopted by the lumbermen and, strange to say, has spread over the continent. In the western states today men employed in lumbering apply the words "the main John Glasier," to the manager of any big lumbering concern. It is said that only a few of those who use the term know of its origin. It was undoubtedly carried to the west by lumbermen who went there from the River St. John. Senator Glasier died at Ottawa in his 84th year, during the session of 1894, while engaged in the discharge of his parliamentary duties.

The early masting operations on the river carried on by William Davidson and his contemporaries were the means of putting in circulation a considerable amount of money, which was greatly appreciated by the early

settlers. It is greatly to be regretted that the forest resources of the county were not conserved to better advantage at that early period. The methods employed were wasteful and the spirit of speculation engendered greatly retarded the agricultural development of the country.

The condition of the settlers on the St. John had now begun to improve and they were able to live within themselves. Money began to circulate more freely owing to the development of the masting industry. In several of the townships primitive grist and saw mills were to be found, and a small tannery was owned and operated by Nathaniel Churchill of Gagetown. Among the artificers of Maugerville were Sylvanus Plummer, joiner and housewright; James Woodman, Shipwright; John Crabtree, weaver; Israel Kenny, blacksmith; Jonathan Whipple, cooper; Benjamin Bailey, housewright; Abel English, blacksmith.

One of our glimpses of Portland Point, during the closing years of the Revolution, a rather interesting one, is found in the diary of Benjamin Marston, a loyalist of Marblehead, who visited the harbor in his vessel the "Britannia" in the autumn of 1781. An extract from his diary here follows:—

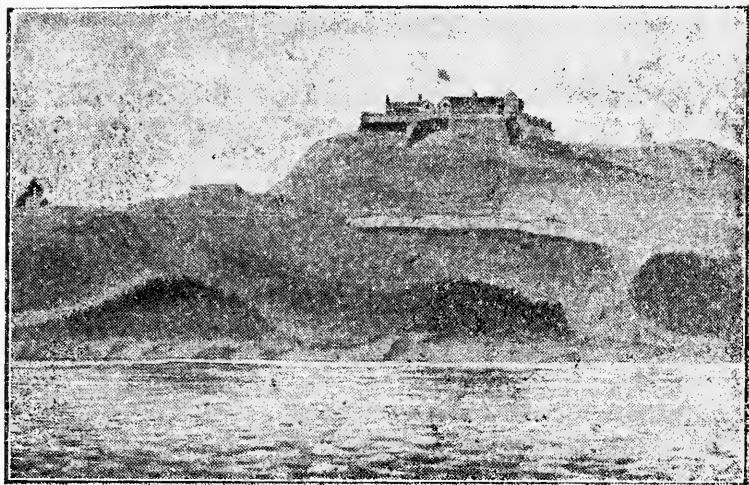
"Friday, Sept. 7 — About 10 a. m. arrived safely into St. John's river, went ashore and dined with Mr. Hazen whom I find to be every way the man I have ever heard him characterized.

"Saturday, Sept. 8 — Dined with Mr. Hazen. Sold him and Mr. White some tobacco, wine and chocolate.

"Monday, Sept. 10 — Waiting in hopes of a convoy and have some prospect of carrying garrison stores to Annapolis, in that case shall have a party sufficient to

keep off pirate boats. Spent the day rambling about the country which hereabouts is very broken, barren and but little cultivated, but abounding in vast quantities of excellent limestone. Fort Howe is built on a single limestone — 'tis a pretty large one.

“Wednesday, Sept. 12 — Waited till 12 o'clock at noon to sail with the men of war and the mast ships.”



FORT HOWE IN 1781.

While lying at anchor off Portland Point Benjamin Marston made the sketch of Fort Howe here reproduced and which is believed to be the only representation of Fort Howe before the coming of the Loyalists now in existence. Major Studholme continued quietly to maintain his post at Fort Howe. In addition to a strong detachment of his own corps, the Royal Fencible American Regiment, he had in the garrison a detach-

ment of the 84th regiment, or Royal Highland Emigrants. Among his subordinate officers were lieutenants Samuel Denny Street, Peter Clinch, Ambrose Sharman and Constant Connor.

Lieut. Street was born and educated in England and admitted an attorney at law in the court of Westminster. He came to America in 1774, and was gazetted a lieutenant in the Royal Fencible American Regiment. He obtained for the British the pilots who accompanied General McLean on his successful expedition to Penobscot. Street himself was sent on several occasions from Fort Howe to Penobscot on confidential service. On the 25th of April 1781 he was so unfortunate as to be betrayed by a guide, and was taken prisoner near Machias with six men. He was sent to Boston and put on board the prison ship. Anxious to retain the services of one so useful and enterprising Gen'l McLean on two occasions offered two "rebel" officers of superior rank in exchange, but the offer was declined, and it was learned afterwards that the failure was due to Col. John Allan's representing that Lieut. Street was too dangerous a man to be set at liberty.

After months of irksome confinement he contrived, with the help of a fellow prisoner, to seize the sentinel one sultry night in August, without arousing the guard. Having bound and gagged their man and possessed themselves of his weapons, they released the other prisoners, and then surprised and disarmed the guard, consisting of a corporal and twelve men. One of Street's men swam ashore and brought off a boat in which they all embarked. The guard were landed on a small island. Street and his party pushed through the woods to Marblehead, but the day coming on they were so

unfortunate as to encounter a detachment of American troops by whom they were conveyed to Boston. Street was now measured for irons but information of this having reached General McLean he threatened to retaliate upon the U. S. prisoners at Halifax and the project was abandoned.

After enduring for some time the prison fare, which was "putrid and offensive," Lt. Street made another unsuccessful attempt to escape and was sent once more aboard the prison ship. He contrived one dark night to lower himself from the cabin window, and with the tide at flood swam off undiscovered. After swimming a mile up the harbor he landed on shore and sought refuge at the house of an Englishman, whom he knew and by whose timely aid he returned in safety to the garrison at Fort Howe.

Samuel Denny Street was the first lawyer to practice his profession in this province. At the peace in 1783 he was employed as Major Studholme's assistant in the settlement of the Loyalists on the River St. John. His descendants have filled conspicuous positions in the history of the province, both political and judicial. One son, George Frederick Street, was a judge of the supreme court, another, John Ambrose Street, was attorney general of the province and leader of the government and still another, William H. Street, was mayor of the City of St. John.

Lieut. Peter Clinch, who was one of Major Studholme's officers, was born in Ireland and educated at Trinity College, Dublin. He came to America before the outbreak of the Revolution, was gazetted lieutenant in his regiment May 15, 1776, and shortly afterwards appointed adjutant. After his regiment was disbanded he settled

at St. George. The difficulties with which he was confronted on his arrival are thus described by one of his sons:—“My father had charge of a party of soldiers, who were disbanded in 1783 and sent to colonize a howling wilderness—the most unfit employment they could be put to. The delay which took place in furnishing a vessel to convey them and their stores added much to their difficulties. It was not until the 10th of November that a landing was effected at the mouth of the Magaguadavic, where there was neither house nor habitation of any kind to receive them; and so glad was the skipper of the vessel to get rid of such a disorderly and almost mutinous crew, that he sailed away the moment he got them landed. He was under some apprehension that they would insist on coming away with him rather than land on such an inhospitable shore. That night my father slept in the open air and such a heavy fall of snow came that he had some difficulty in removing the blankets next morning.” Peter Clinch, in 1793, raised and commanded a company in the King’s New Brunswick Regiment. He was for years a representative of Charlotte County in the New Brunswick legislature, and a man prominent in public affairs up to the time of his decease in 1816.

Civil authority was vested at this period in the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the County of Sunbury, which met regularly at Maugerville, and of which James Simonds, James White, Israel Perley, Gervas Say, and Jacob Barker, Esquires, were members. Benjamin Atherton was clerk of the Peace for the county.

The state of society at St. John was not at this time such as to enable the settlers to dispense with public

authority. We have evidence of this in the following notice posted at Portland Point, by order of the resident magistrate, in connection with unlicensed taverns.

“Whereas complaint hath been made to me by the commanding officer of the King’s Troops at this place that several irregularities have lately been committed by his troops, proceeding from the quantity of strong liquors sold them by the inhabitants: To prevent any disturbance for the future I publicly forbid any person or persons at this place selling strong liquors under penalty of the law, except those who have license or permits from authority for that purpose.

Given under my hand at Fort Howe this third day of July, 1781.

JAMES WHITE, J. P.”

The disturbed condition of affairs, consequent upon the war, had now so far improved that St. John was made a Port of Entry, with James White as Deputy Collector. It was the day of small things with the future Winter Port of Canada, for the following list includes all the vessels that entered and cleared in 1782, the King’s ships excepted.

<i>Entered</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Cleared</i>	<i>Tons</i>
Rosanna, .....	17	Rosanna, .....	17
Betsy, .....	10	Peggy, .....	8
Escape, .....	10	Betsy, .....	10
Polly, .....	10	Escape, .....	10
Sally, .....	10	Polly, .....	10
Lark, .....	18	Sally, .....	10
Ranger, .....	12	Lark, .....	18
Prosperity, .....	10	Ranger, .....	12
Unity, .....	10	Prosperity, .....	10
Speedy, .....	7	Unity, .....	10
Little Tom, .....	30	Little Tom, .....	30
		Monaguash, .....	20
Total tonnage, 144		Total tonnage, 165	

The emoluments of the customs collector were small. William Hazen's position as commissary of the garrison was something better. Most of the supplies of fuel, meat, and vegetables for the troops were provided by Hazen & White. The situation of Fort Howe was exposed to every wind that blew and the fact of the barracks being warmed by open fires necessitated the use of a large amount of cordwood. In 1782 Hazen & White furnished 172 cords of firewood at 20 shillings a cord. The beef and other country produce was obtained from the farmers up the river.

Some account has already been given in these pages of the early religious teachers on the River St. John. A few words however may be added concerning the celebrated "New Light" preacher, Henry Alline, who visited Maugerville in 1779, 1780, and 1782. A great deal has been written concerning this remarkable man, and widely divergent opinions have been expressed as to the value of his labors, though few are found to gainsay his sincerity, ability and zeal. Rev. Jacob Bailey, who was the S. P. G. missionary at Cornwallis and Annapolis, terms him "a rambling teacher, who has made great commotions in this province." Mr. Bailey was a tory of the olden time, and strongly deprecated anything that chanced to be at variance with the sober ways of the Church of England. He writes, "This country is troubled with various sects of enthusiasts who agree in nothing except a frenzy of pious zeal and uncharitable spirit towards their unconverted neighbors, and a madness to introduce confusion, anarchy and nonsense into all the exercises of religion. \* \* He that is master of the strongest pair of lungs, and is able to exhibit the loudest and most doleful vociferation, is sure of prevailing success."

Henry Alline, the Whitefield of Nova Scotia, was born at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1748 and settled with his parents at Falmouth, N. S., in 1760. He was a preacher of fervid eloquence, which, as in the case of Whitefield, few who came under its influence were able to resist. He was brought up a Congregationalist, and from that denomination he never really separated, although he plunged into speculations on theological points until the word of inspiration was often lost amid the reveries of mysticism. One of the errors of New-Light enthusiasm consisted in regarding mere animal impulses as leadings of the Spirit, which must be followed at all hazards. Henry Alline was one of the best exponents of the New-Light idea. He was a good singer as well as a fervid preacher, and in his sermons appealed to the feelings of his hearers. "The early New-Light preachers," says Dr. T. Watson Smith, "resembled their leader. Such men, passing from settlement to settlement, as if impelled by a species of religious knight-errantry, could not fail to make an impression. Viewed in themselves, the results of their visits were in certain cases painful. Families were divided; neighbors became opposed to each other; pastors preached and wrote in vain endeavor to stem the tide, and failing submitted to the inevitable; old church organizations were broken down and new organizations set up in their places. \* \* To disturb the slumbers of the churches and arouse them to active effort seemed to be his vocation." His doctrines were distasteful to the Presbyterians of his day, and were termed by one of their leaders "a mixture of Calvinism, Antinomianism, and Enthusiasm."

It is certain, nevertheless, that Henry Alline stirred non-conformist Nova Scotia to its core. After his death

the societies which he founded, as a rule, gradually became Baptist churches, and in this way many of the most intelligent and influential New England families became members of that denomination.

In the month of April, 1779, Henry Alline left Cornwallis in response to an invitation to go to the River St. John. On his arrival at Maugerville he was cordially received by the people, who related to him the broken state of their church and deplored the darkness of the times.

"When the Sabbath came," he says, "I preached, and the Lord was there, and took much hold of the people. The week ensuing I preached two lectures, and went from place to place, visiting the people and inquiring into their standing. O! it was a grief to see sincere Christians thus scattered up and down the mountains like sheep having no shepherd; and the accuser of the brethren had sown much discord among the Christians. There had been a church there, but the people had separated on account of the greatest part holding the minister to be an unconverted man, who afterwards went away, but the division still subsisted."

Mr. Alline spent some weeks in the township, preaching often and visiting the people. By his advice they renewed their church covenant. On his way down the river he preached at Gagetown and on his arrival at the mouth of the river held services for the people who lived on both sides of the harbor. He failed to make any deep impression upon his hearers at St. John and in his journal deplores the darkness of the place. "I suppose," he writes, "there were upwards of two hundred people there, come to the years of maturity, and I saw no signs of any Christian excepting one soldier.

Yet although I was among such an irreligious people, the Lord was kind to me, and I lacked for nothing while I was there." He returned to St. John in the latter part of August and preached there on a Sunday. Major Studholme treated him kindly and sent him up the river in his own barge. He found the church prospering. Two elders and two deacons were appointed, and a formal call extended to Mr. Alline to remain as a settled pastor. This call he did not accept, but during the next three years he made them visits of some weeks at a time. Crowds of people attended his preaching, many of them accompanying him from place to place, sometimes as many as six or seven boats loaded with converts, who hung upon his words in a manner that was pathetic. On the last Sunday of his stay in Sheffield, in May, 1782, the concourse was so great that he preached in the open field. "I had so much to say to them," he writes, "and they seemed so loth to part that I was almost spent before we parted."

The story of Alline's illness and death, which occurred in the town of Northampton, N. H., on February 2nd, 1784, is pathetic in the extreme.

When the pioneer Methodist minister, Rev. William Black, visited Sheffield in 1792, the results of Henry Alline's labors were yet in evidence, and were not entirely acceptable to Mr. Black, who says that he found among the people "many New Lights, or more properly Allinities — much wild fire and many wrong opinions."

The first Presbyterian minister who visited Sheffield was the Rev. Dr. James MacGregor of Pictou. His visit was in response to a pressing invitation. On the way he stopped at a house near Grand Lake where he had the following colloquy with the mistress of the house :

Woman — Who are you ?

Doctor — I am James McGregor, a minister from Pictou.

Woman — Are you a Methodist ?

Doctor — No.

Woman — Are you Church of England ?

Doctor — No.

Woman — Then you must be a New-Light.

Doctor — No I am not a New-Light.

Woman — Then what in the world are you, for I do not know any more ?

Doctor — I am a Presbyterian.

Woman — Well, I never saw a Presbyterian minister before, but my mother used to tell me that they were the very best in the world. But what do you hold to ?

Doctor — I do not understand what you mean.

Woman — Do you hold to conversion ?

Doctor — Don't they all hold to conversion ?

Woman — No the Methodists and New-Lights holds to it, but the Church of England holds against it."

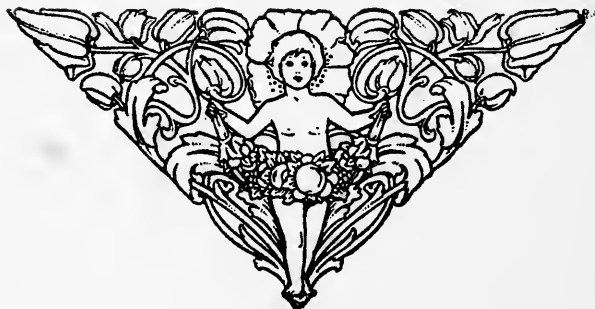
Dr. MacGregor says "I preached two Sabbaths to them in a respectable place of worship, and to Methodists and Baptists." The Doctor had a most attentive congregation and, as was usual in days when the visits of ministers were few and far between, many stayed and conversed with him after public worship was over.

In the course of his tour Doctor MacGregor visited the settlement up the Nashwaak founded by the disbanded soldiers of the 42nd Highlanders. Not having been visited by one of their own ministers for many years, a few had turned Baptists and Methodists, but "the best and the worst of them continued Presbyterians."

Having now discussed the political, social, and religious condition of the settlements on the River St. John at the close of the Revolution we shall in the closing chapter of this work deal briefly with the story of the coming of the Loyalists.

We need not pause to consider in detail the reasons that impelled these unfortunate people to leave the homes where they had been born and bred to begin life anew in the wilderness. They followed the path of duty as they saw it. Fidelity to the King and Motherland and the desire of race unity led them to contend for the integrity of the empire and if henceforth they must seek life in the wilderness —

“Then welcome wilderness!  
Though dark and rude  
And unsubdued,  
For their sturdy hands  
By hated treason undefiled  
Might win from the Canadian wild  
A home on British lands.”



## XXII.

Old Colonies Independent — Folly of the Victors — A Loyalist Pioneer — Agents Sent to Nova Scotia — Loyalists at Annapolis — Description of River St. John — The "Spring Fleet" — Major Studholme's Services — Progress of Parrtown — Kingston Loyalists — The June Fleet — Diary of Sarah Frost.



THE war between Great Britain and the old colonies was now ended and the colonies had gained their independence. John Adams had been received by King George the Third in the blunt honest fashion which, despite his many mistakes, endeared blunt "Farmer George" to the hearts of the English people.

"Sir," said the King to Mr. Adams, "I was the last man in England to consent to the independence of the colonies. Now that you have got it, sir, I shall be the last man to disturb it."

Had the United States leaders been wise they would have tempered their triumph with moderation. They would have encouraged those who had espoused the Royal cause to remain and assist in building up the new nation which they had founded. Instead of this, as has been well said, they committed one of the most stupendous acts of short sighted folly ever perpetrated by a civilized people. They passed edicts of banishment against the persons, and acts of confiscation against the estates of the Loyalists. They drove them out, poor in purse but rich in experience, determination,

energy, education, intellect and the other qualities which build up states, and with hearts fired and energies stimulated against republicanism. They drove them out seventy thousand strong to build up a rival nation at their very doors which perhaps would never have had an existence but for the rash folly of those who persecuted the Loyalists.

The war of the Revolution was practically over in October, 1781, when Lord Cornwallis was forced to surrender to the United French and American forces at Yorktown in Virginia. Early the next year the vanguard of the Loyalists began to make its appearance in Nova Scotia. The first to arrive at Fort Howe was Captain Simon Baxter of New Hampshire. He had been proscribed and banished on account of his loyalty and on one occasion was on the verge of being hanged by the "rebels," but contrived to escape, and fled for protection to Burgoyne's army. In March, 1782, he arrived at Fort Howe with his family in distressed circumstances, and was befriended by Major Studholme, William Hazen and James White who recommended him to the consideration of the authorities in Halifax. Not long afterwards he obtained a grant of 5,000 acres as a reduced (or disbanded) subaltern and as a loyal refugee in what is now the Parish of Norton, Kings County. Major Studholme about the same time received a grant of a large tract at the Millstream in the Parish of Studholm in recognition of his eminent services.

It was not without forethought and serious consideration that the Loyalists came to settle on the River St. John. Several associations were formed at New York in 1782 to further the plans of those intending to settle in Nova Scotia. One of these associations had as its

president the Reverend Dr. Seabury and for its secretary Sampson Salter Blowers. ( The former was afterwards the first Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States, and the latter was Chief Justice of Nova Scotia. ) Under the arrangements made by this association a great many Loyalists came to the River St. John in May, 1783. " Articles of Settlement were " agreed upon at New York as follows :

#### ARTICLES OF SETTLEMENT IN NOVA SCOTIA.

*Made with the Loyalists at New York in 1783.*

" The Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury and Lieut. Col. B. Thompson, of the Kings American Dragoons, having been appointed by the Board of Agents to wait on his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, Commander in Chief, in behalf of the Loyalists desirous of emigrating to Nova Scotia, read the following rough proposals, as articles of supply for the settlers in Nova Scotia :

1st. That they be provided with proper vessels, and convoy, to carry them, their horses and cattle, as near as possible to the place appointed for their settlement.

2nd. That besides the provisions for the voyage, one year's provision be allowed them, or money to enable them to purchase.

3rd. That some allowance of warm clothing be made in proportion to the wants of each family.

4th. That an allowance of medicines be granted, such as shall be thought necessary.

5th. That pairs of mill-stones, necessary iron works for grist mills, and saws and other necessary articles for saw-mills be granted them.

6th. That a quantity of nails and spikes, hoes and axes, spades and shovels, plough irons, and such other farming utensils as shall appear necessary, be provided for them, and also a proportion of window glass.

7th. That such a tract or tracts of land, free from disputed titles and as conveniently situated as may be, be granted, surveyed and divided at the public cost so as to afford from 300 to 600 acres of useful land to each family.

8th. That over and above 2,000 acres in every township be allowed for the support of a clergyman, and 1,000 acres for the support of a school, and that these lands be unalienable for ever.

9th. That a sufficient number of good muskets and cannon be allowed, with a proper quantity of powder and ball for their use, to enable them to defend themselves against any hostile invasion; also a proportion of powder and lead for hunting.

The deputation which waited on Sir Guy Carleton, viz., Rev. Dr. Seabury and Lieut. Col. B. Thompson, were assured by the Commander in Chief that he approved of the proposals submitted and that the terms of settlement would be at least equivalent to them. He desired to give every encouragement to those intending to settle in Nova Scotia and would write to the Governor of the province in their behalf. He advised the association to send agents to examine the vacant lands and see where settlements could best be made.

The following agreement in connection with the matter was widely circulated in New York and on Long Island, Staten Island and the vicinity, and signed by many heads of families:—

“We whose names are hereunto subscribed do agree to remove to the province of Nova Scotia, on the above encouragement with our families, in full reliance on the future support of Government, and under the patronage of the following gentlemen as our agents, they having been approved of as such by his Majesty’s Commissioner for restoring Peace: Lieut. Col. B. Thompson, K. A. D., Lieut. Col. E. Winslow, Gen. Muster-master provincial forces; Major Joshua Upham, Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, Rev. John Sayre, Captain Maudsley, Amos Botsford, Esq., Samuel Cummings, Esq., Judge John Wardle, James Peters, Esq., Frederick Hauser.

These agents were furnished with detailed instructions directing them to ascertain the quality of soil, timber,

game, limestone and other natural resources ; to examine the rivers, bays, harbors, lakes and streams with regard to mills, fishing and trade ; also to ascertain what difficulties and obstructions might be anticipated in forming settlements ; also whether the tracts desired were free from disputed titles ; also what lands in the neighbourhood were granted and to whom, whether forfeited or whether they might be purchased and at what rate, etc.

In accordance with Sir Guy Carleton's advice, Amos Botsford, Samuel Cummings and Frederick Hauser were sent as agents. They arrived at Annapolis on the 19th October, 1782, along with five hundred Loyalists who had come from New York in nine transport ships. Rev. Jacob Bailey, the S. P. G. missionary, gives a graphic account of their arrival and of the transformation it wrought in the small town, which is worth quoting in this connection. He says :

"On Saturday morning early, we were all surprised with the unexpected appearance of eleven sail of shipping, coming by Goat Island and directing their course towards the town. About nine, two frigates came to anchor, and at ten the remainder, being transports, hauled close in by the King's wharf. On board this fleet were about five hundred refugees who intend to settle in this province. They are a mixture from every province on the continent except Georgia. Yesterday they landed and our royal city of Annapolis, which three days ago contained only 120 souls, has now about 600 inhabitants. You cannot realize what an amazing alteration this event has occasioned. Everything is alive, and both the townspeople and the soldiers are lost among the strangers. All the houses and barracks are crowded and many are unable to procure

any lodgings. Most of these distressed people left large possessions in the rebellious colonies, and their sufferings on account of their loyalty, and their present uncertain and destitute condition render them very affecting objects of compassion. Three agents are dispatched to Halifax to solicit lands from government."

The agents were bearers of a letter from Sir Guy Carleton to the Governor of Nova Scotia commending the Loyalists to his consideration. "These persons," he writes, "are to be considered as real efficient settlers, already acquainted with all the necessary arts of culture and habituated to settlements of the like kind: and who, independent of their just claims, will bring a large accession of strength as well as of population into the province. And as they have merited much by their exertions in support of Government, so they will not only, in my judgment, be well entitled to grants now desired, but to all such advantages of every sort which have been promised by proclamation or otherwise to persons invited to settle in that province."

The agents, on their return from Halifax, where they had a very satisfactory interview with Governor Parr and the Surveyor General, explored the country in the neighborhood of Annapolis and crossed the Bay of Fundy to St. John about the end of November. In the report afterwards transmitted to their friends at New York they write: "We found our passage up the river difficult, being too late to pass in boats and not sufficiently frozen to bear. In this situation we left the river, and for a straight course steered by a compass thro' the woods, encamping out several nights and went as far as the Oromocto, about seventy miles up the river, where there is a block-house, a British post.

“The St. John is a fine river equal in magnitude to the Connecticut or Hudson. At the mouth of the river is a fine harbor, accessible at all seasons of the year, never frozen or obstructed by ice. \* \* \*

“There are many settlers along the river upon the intervale land, who get their living easily. The intervale lies on the river and is a most fertile soil, annually matured by the overflowing of the river, and produces crops of all kinds with little labor, and vegetables in the greatest perfection. They cut down the trees, burn the tops, put in a crop of wheat or Indian corn, which yields a plentiful increase. These intervalles would make the finest meadows. The uplands produce wheat, both of the summer and winter kinds, as well as Indian corn. Here are some wealthy farmers having flocks of cattle. The greater part of the people, excepting the township of Maugerville, are tenants, or seated on the bank without leave or license merely to get their living. For this reason they have not made such improvements as might otherwise have been expected or as thorough farmers would have done. \* \* Immense quantities of limestone are found at Fort Howe and at the mouth of the river.

“We also went up the Kennebecasis, a large branch of St. John's River, where is a large tract of intervale and upland which has never been granted; it is under a reserve, but we can have it. Major Studholme and Capt. Baxter, who explored the country, chose this place and obtained a grant of 9,000 acres. On each side of this grant are large tracts of good land convenient for navigation. A title for these lands may be procured sooner than for such as have been already granted such as Gage, Conway, etc., which must be obtained by a regular

process in the court of escheats. The lands on the River St. John are also sufficiently near the cod fishery in Fundy Bay, and perfectly secure against the Indians and Americans. The inhabitants are computed to be near one thousand men able to bear arms. Here is a county and court established and the inhabitants at peace and seem to experience no inconveniency from the war."

Reports such as the foregoing enabled the Loyalists to act intelligently in making choice of their locations in Nova Scotia and a large number decided to go to the River St. John. Transport ships were hired by Sir Guy Carleton, and those who desired passage gave in their names at the office of the adjutant general. There was a scarcity of transports and the number of Loyalists who desired to go to Nova Scotia proved very much greater than had been anticipated. It became apparent that the ships would have to make repeated voyages. Many particulars of interest in connection with the Loyalist emigration are to be found in the newspapers of the day which are preserved in the public libraries of New York and New England — some also are in the British Museum.

The following paragraph taken from an old newspaper refers to the departure of the first party of Loyalists from New York in the spring of 1783 :

"New London, Conn., April 25, 1783. We hear that the Loyalists destined for Nova Scotia from New York are to depart in two Divisions; the first, consisting of about 3,000 men, women and children, are nearly ready to sail; the second to sail as soon as the vessels return which carry the first."

As the season advanced it was found necessary to supplement the above plan by additional sailings, and

the final embarkation at New York was hardly completed before winter set in.

The first fleet for Saint John sailed from Sandy Hook on the 26th of April, arriving at Partridge Island about the 11th day of May. The most authentic account of the voyage is contained in the narrative of Walter Bates, afterwards Sheriff of Kings County, N. B., who was a passenger on board the transport ship *Union*. He states that early in April the Loyalist refugees on Long Island, who formed little communities at Huntington, Lloyd's Neck, Eaton's Neck and Oyster Bay, were visited by the Rev. John Sayre one of the agents for settling the Loyalists in Nova Scotia. Mr. Sayre informed them that the King offered to those who did not incline to return to their former places of abode and would go to Nova Scotia, 200 acres of land to each family and two years provisions and to furnish them with a free passage to the place selected for settlement. A public meeting was held to consider the matter and it was resolved by all present to remove with their families to the St. John River and to settle together in such a situation as would enable them to enjoy the advantages of a church and school. Mr. Bates says that Providence assigned to them the best ship and by far the best captain in the fleet. The *Union* took her passengers on board at Huntington Bay. The embarkation began on the 11th of April and occupied five days. The manifest of the ship is still in existence and is signed by Fyler Dibblee, the deputy agent in charge. There were 209 passengers all told viz., 61 men, 39 women, 59 children over ten, 48 children under ten and 2 servants. Walter Bates says the captain received them on board "as father of a family" and took care that nothing should be

wanting to render them comfortable and happy during the voyage. The Union sailed from Huntington to the place of rendezvous near Staten Island. An interesting incident now occurred. This and the story of the voyage, we shall let Mr. Bates tell in his own way : —

“Having a couple on board wishing to be married, we call upon the Rev’d. Mr. Leaming, who received us with much kindness and affection — most of us formerly of his congregation — who after the marriage reverently admonished us with his blessing that we pay due regard to church and school as means to obtain the blessing of God upon our families and our industry. We embarked : next day the ship joined the fleet and on the 26th day of April, upwards of twenty sail of ships under convoy left Sandy Hook for Nova Scotia, from whence, after the pleasure of leading the whole fleet fourteen days, our good ship Union arrived at Partridge Island before the fleet was come within sight. Next day the ship was safely moored by Capt. Dan’l. Leavitt, the pilot, in the most convenient situation for landing in the Harbour of St. John, all in good health — where we remained comfortable on board ship (while others was sickly or precipitated on shore from other ships) which proved a providential favor, until we could explore for a place in the wilderness suitable for our purpose of settlement. A boat was procured for the purpose and David Pickett, Israel Hait, Silas Raymond and others proceeded sixty miles up the river and reported that the inhabitants were settled on Intervale lands by the river, that the high-lands had generally been burned by the Indians and that there was no church or church minister in the country. They were informed of a tract of timbered land that had not been burned on Bellisle Bay, about

thirty miles from the Harbour of St. John, which they had visited and viewed the situation favorable for our purpose of settlement. Whereupon we all agreed to go there and disembarked from on board the good ship Union, with Capt. Wilson's blessing. We placed on board a small sloop all our baggage. The next morning, with all our effects, women and children, we set sail above the falls and arrived at Bellisle Bay before sunset. Nothing but wilderness before our eyes ; the women and children did not refrain from tears."

It will be seen from Bates narrative that the fleet of transports anchored at St. John harbor about one week before the general landing on the 18th of May. Little preparation had been made for their reception. The season had been cold and backward and, anxious as were the masters of the transports to return speedily to New York, they were obliged to tarry some days. Before the Loyalists could disembark, it was necessary to clear away the brushwood around the landing place at the Upper Cove ( now the Market Slip ) and to erect tents, hurricane houses of sails and other kinds of shelter. Bates' narrative seems to imply that there was no uniform plan of disembarkation. The passengers were " precipitated on shore " by the less humane captains, but on the transport Union they remained until ready to proceed to their tract of land in the parish of Kingston. However, there must have been a more or less general disembarkation on the 18th of May which day has always been observed by common consent as the anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists.

Those who are curious to know whether or not their ancestors had a comfortable voyage to St. John, can study the record of the weather kept by Benjamin

Marston, who was engaged at this time in laying out the town of Shelburne.

May 1st, Thursday — Wind east; calm at night.

May 2nd, Friday — Rain; wind south-westerly.

May 3rd, Saturday — Fair; wind north-westerly fresh.

May 4th, Sunday — Fair; wind north-westerly fresh.

May 5th, Monday — Fair; wind westerly moderate.

May 6th, Tuesday — Fair; wind easterly changing to southerly.

May 7th, Wednesday — Fair; wind south-easterly.

May 8th, Thursday — Fair; wind easterly.

May 9th, Friday — Fair; wind easterly.

May 10th, Saturday — Weather foggy and at times drizzly; wind south-easterly.

May 11th, Sunday — Begins with plenty of rain; wind south-westerly, changes to foggy weather. At night wind south-easterly with frequent showers.

The names of the vessels of the “Spring Fleet” and their masters, so far as known, are as follows :

<i>Vessel</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Vessel</i>	<i>Master</i>
Union, .....	Consett Wilson.	Bridgewater, .....	Capt. Adnet.
Camel, .....	William Tinker.	Favorite, .....	Gapt. Ellis.
Cyrus, .....	James Turner.	Commerce, .....	Capt. Strong.
Sovereign, .....	William Stewart.	Lord Townsend, .....	Capt. Hogg.
Aurora, .....	Capt. Jackson.	Sally, .....	Capt. Bell.
Hope, .....	Capt. Peacock.	Spencer, .....	
Otter, .....	Capt. Burns.	Thames, .....	
Emmett, .....	Capt. Reed.	William, .....	
Spring, .....	Capt. Cadish.	Britain, .....	
Ann, .....	Capt. Clark.	King George, .....	

We may well believe that the arrival of the Loyalists produced great excitement among the people of the hamlet at Portland Point. For twenty years they had

been accustomed to regard themselves as the lords of creation on the shores of the harbor of St. John and they now found themselves swallowed up, as it were, in a single day by a vast mixed multitude.

More than three hundred years have passed since Champlain sailed up the harbor and in honor of the day of its discovery gave to the river the name it still retains, but in all these centuries the most notable fleet that ever cast anchor in the port was the "Spring Fleet of 1783. Doubtless the old iron guns on Fort Howe thundered out their salute as the ships came up the harbor the flag of England streaming from the masthead, and we know that Major Studholme gave to the wearied exiles a hearty welcome. The old soldier had held his post secure in the face of hostile savages and lawless marauders, and he was now equally faithful in the discharge of his duty to the new comers. He did his best to cheer their drooping spirits and to fix them in habitations which they could once more call their own. There is a quiet spot in the parish of Studholm, on the banks of the Kennebecasis, where the mortal remains of Major Studholme repose. No headstone marks the grave. This ought not so to be.

The Loyalists could not but feel glad when their voyage was ended. There were in their day no light houses, beacons or fog horns to aid the navigator and the best charts were imperfect. Many of the ships were overcrowded and the accomodations not of the best. To add to the general discomfort epidemics, such as measles, broke out on board some of the vessels. Yet glad as they were to be again on shore it was with heavy hearts that many of them viewed the departure of the fleet. The grand-mother of the late Sir Leonard Tilley said to

one of her descendants, "I climbed to the top of Chipman's Hill and watched the sails disappear, and such a lonely feeling came over me that, although I had not shed a tear through all the war, I sat down on the damp moss with my baby in my lap and cried."

An old New York paper informs us that nine transport ships sailed from St. John on the 29th of May, on their return to New York, and that they left the new settlers there in good health and spirits.

The days that followed the arrival of the fleet were busy days for Major Studholme and his assistant Lieut. Samuel Denny Street. By their orders, boards, shingles, bricks, etc., were supplied to the newcomers. A very interesting collection of Studholme's vouchers and receipts may be seen in the provincial archives at Halifax. The first that bears the name of Parr (Parrtown) is the following :

"Parr, on the River St. John, 31st August, 1783.  
Rec'd from Gilfred Studholme £5.18.10½ for surveying  
142,660 feet lumber for use of the Loyalists settled on  
the River St. John."

JEREMIAH REGAN.

The name of Parr, or Parrtown, was not given to the new town until some months after the arrival of the Loyalists and it was applied only to that part of the present city of St. John which lies on the east side of the harbor south of Union street. Governor Parr admits that it originated "in feminine vanity," from which we may assume that his wife suggested it. The name was never very acceptable to the people. It was soon discarded and the time-honored name of St. John restored at the incorporation of the city on the 18th of May, 1785.

Every Loyalist on his arrival received 500 feet of boards and a proportion of shingles and bricks to assist him in building a house. Many of the dwellings put up were log houses, the lumber being used for floors, partitions, doors, etc. They did not have far to go for the stone needed for the chimneys and fire places. In the course of the first twelve months, Major Studholme issued 1,731,289 feet of boards, 1,553,919 shingles and 7,400 clapboards. The lumber was obtained from James Woodman, William Hazen, Nehemiah Beckwith, Patrick Rogers and others at pretty high prices (for those days) boards £ 4 per M. and shingles 15 s. per M. The Loyalists seem to have been industrious, for when winter came more than 1,500 dwellings had been erected. Joshua Aplin wrote Chief Justice Smith that their efforts were unparalleled, and that he could scarce credit his own eyes at the sight of such industry. But the people appeared to be almost in despair at not getting on their lands. The greater part of those in the town never meant to fix themselves there, but to settle on lands up the river and apply their money to building farm houses, purchasing live stock, etc., and great loss had been incurred by their being obliged to build at the mouth of the river.

The Kingston settlers, who came in the ship Union, were among the few that were able to proceed directly to their place of settlement. They tented for some weeks on the banks of Kingston Creek, where the mothers found occupation in nursing their children through the measles. They were visited by the Indians, with whom they established friendly relations and who supplied them with moose meat. In the month of July Frederick Hauser came to lay out their farms. Before

their lots were drawn, however, reservations were made for church and school purposes. They then set to with a will, working together by common consent, clearing the ground for their cabins and cutting logs, which they were obliged often to carry some little distance with their own hands, having neither horses nor oxen to draw them, and by the month of November every man in the settlement found himself ensconced with his family beneath his own roof in the shelter of the forest where, Walter Bates tells us, they were perfectly happy, contented and comfortable through the winter. In this respect they were fortunate indeed in comparison with many at Parrtown and St. Annes who were obliged to pass their first winter in tents.

A second important contingent of the Loyalists arrived on the 29th of June. These, as in the case of the former fleet, came from New York having embarked at various places in the vicinity. There was some delay in their sailing owing to the difficulties of embarkation and getting the vessels together. The names of the transport ships have been preserved in the following advertisement in a New York paper :

“NOTICE TO REFUGEES.”

“The following Transports, viz., Two Sisters, Hopewell, Symmetry, Generous Friends, Bridgewater, Thames, Amity's Production, Tartar, Duchess of Gordon, Littledale, William and Mary and Free Briton, which are to carry companies commanded by Sylvanus Whitney, Joseph Gorham, Henry Thomas, John Forrester, Thomas Elms, John Cock, Joseph Clarke, James Hoyt, Christopher Benson, Joseph Forrester, Thomas Welch, Oliver Bourdet, Asher Dunham, Abiather-

Camp, Peter Berton, Richard Hill and Moses Pitcher, will certainly fall down on Monday morning (to Staten Island); it will therefore be absolutely necessary for the people who are appointed to go in these companies to be all on board tomorrow evening.

New York, June 7th, 1783."

The diary of Sarah Frost, who was a passenger in the "Two Sisters," throws much light upon the circumstances attending the voyage. Sarah (Schofield) Frost was the wife of William Frost, a sturdy loyalist of Stamford, who was proscribed and banished and threatened with death if he ever returned to Connecticut. He did return, however, as guide to an armed party, on a Saturday night in July, 1781. The party placed themselves in hiding in a swamp near the meeting house and the following day captured the Rev'd. Dr. Mather and his entire congregation. Selecting forty-eight of the most ardent "patriots," including the minister, the party hastened to their boats and brought their prisoners within the British lines at Lloyd's Neck, on Long Island, where they were greeted in no complimentary fashion by those of their old neighbors whom they had driven from their homes because of their loyalty to the King. Needless to say this exploit rendered Wm. Frost exceedingly obnoxious to the "patriots" of Stamford and rendered it impossible for him to return.

The extracts from Mrs. Frost's journal that follow will give the reader an insight into the experience of those who made the voyage to St. John in the Summer Fleet. She writes on May 25, 1783, "I left Lloyd's Neck with my family and went on board the Two Sisters, commanded by Captain Brown, for a voyage to Nova

Scotia with the rest of the Loyalist sufferers. This evening the captain drank tea with us. He appears to be a very agreeable gentleman. We expect to sail as soon as the wind shall favor. We have very fair accommodation in the cabin, although it contains six families besides my own. There are two hundred and fifty passengers on board."

A few days later the ship proceeded to New York where there was an uncomfortable delay. They had expected to sail on the 9th of June but were detained a week longer, and when they left Sandy Hook they had been already three weeks on ship board. While at New York the passengers spent much of their time in making purchases of things they needed and in taking leave of their relatives and friends. The parents of Mrs. Frost had espoused the side of the Revolutionary party and her's was one of the many sad instances in which families were divided by the event of the war. She had a touching interview with her father, who came in a boat from Stamford to bid her farewell. She again writes, under date, June 9th; "Our women all came on board with their children, and there is great confusion in the cabin. We bear with it pretty well through the day, but at night one child cries in one place and one in another while we are getting them to bed. I think sometimes I will go crazy. There are so many of them, if they were as still as common, there would be a great noise amongst them."

Two days later the ships weighed anchor and dropped down to Staten Island where they remained until the 15th June, under which date Mrs. Frost writes:

"Our ship is getting under way, I suppose for Nova Scotia. I hope for a good passage. About 3 o'clock we

have a hard gale and a shower which drives us all below. About 5 o'clock we came to anchor six miles off the Light House at Sandy Hook. About 6 o'clock we had a terrible squall and hail-stones fell as big as ounce balls. Billy [her husband] went out and gathered a mug full of hail stones and in the evening we had a glass of punch made of it.

"Monday, June 16, we weighed anchor about half after five in the morning, with the wind north-nor'-west and it blows very fresh. We passed the Light House about half after seven. It is now half after nine and a signal has been fired for the ships to lie to for the Bridgewater, which seems to lag behind. \* \* \* \* It is now two o'clock and we are again under way. We have been waiting for another ship to come from New York and she has now overhauled us. We have a very light breeze now, but have at last got all our fleet together. We have thirteen ships, two brigs and one frigate; the frigate is our commodore's. It is now three o'clock, the men have got their lines out fishing for Mackerel. Mr. Miles has caught the first. I never saw a live one before, it is the handsomest fish I ever saw."

"Tuesday, June 17th. The wind begins to blow very fresh and I am too unwell to leave my bed. At half after five in the afternoon we are sixty miles from the Light-house, the wind south-west; they say that is a fair wind for us. We are out of sight of land at half after nine."

"Thursday, June 19th. We are still steering eastward with a fine breeze. We make seven miles an hour the chief part of the day. About noon we shift our course and are steering north by east. At about two o'clock Captain says we are 250 miles from Sandy Hook.

At six o'clock we saw a sail ahead. She crowded sail and put off from us, but our frigate knew how to talk to her, for at half past seven she gave her a shot which caused her to shorten sail and lie to. Our captain looked with his spy-glass. He told me she was a Rebel brig, he saw her thirteen stripes. She was steering to the westward. The wind blows so high this evening, I am afraid to go to bed for fear of rolling out."

"Friday, June 20th. This morning our frigate fired a signal to shift our course to North-Nor'-East. Mr. Emslie, the mate, tells me that we are at five in the afternoon about 500 miles from Sandy Hook. We begin to see the fog come on, for that is natural to this place. At six our commodore fired for the ships to lie to until those behind should come up. The fog comes on very thick this evening,"

Saturday, June 21st. Rose at 8 o'clock. It was so foggy we could not see one ship belonging to the fleet. They rang their bells and fired guns all the morning to keep company with one another. About half after ten the fog all went off, so that we saw the chief part of our fleet around us. At noon the fog came on again, but we could hear their bells all around us. This evening the captain showed Billy and me the map of the whole way we have come and the way we have yet to go. He told us we are 240 miles from Nova Scotia at this time."

"Sunday, June 22nd. It is very foggy yet. No ship in sight nor any bells to be heard. Towards noon we heard some guns fired from our fleet but could not tell where they was. The fog was so thick we could not see ten rods, and the wind is so ahead that we have not made ten miles since yesterday noon."

“Monday, June 23rd. Towards noon the fog goes off fast, and in the afternoon we could see several of our vessels, one came close along side of us. Mr. Emslie says we are an hundred and forty miles from land now. In the evening the wind becomes fair, the fog seems to leave us and the sun looks very pleasant. Mr. Whitney and his wife, Billy and I have been diverting ourselves with a few games of crib.”

By this time the passengers were thoroughly tired of the voyage. For three days the ships had lain buried in a dense fog, almost becalmed. On board the Three Sisters an epidemic of measles was causing mothers trouble and anxiety, But a change for the better was at hand and Mrs. Frost continues her journal in a more cheerful strain.

“Thursday, June 26. This morning the sun appears very pleasant. We are now nigh the banks of Cape Sable. At nine o'clock we begin to see land. There is general rejoicing. At half past six we have twelve of our ships in sight. Our captain told me just now we should be in the Bay of Fundy before morning. He says it is about one day's sail after we get into the Bay to Saint John's River. How I long to see that place though a strange land. I am tired of being on board ship, though we have as clever a captain as ever need to live.”

“Friday, June 27. I got up this morning very early to look out. I can see land on both sides of us. About ten o'clock we passed Annapolis. The wind died away. Our people got their lines out to catch cod fish.”

“Saturday, June 28. Got up in the morning and found ourselves nigh to land on both sides. At half after nine our Captain fired a gun for a pilot, and soon after ten a pilot came on board, and a quarter after one our

ship anchored off against Fort Howe in Saint John's River. Our people went on shore and brought on board pea vines with blossoms on them, gooseberries, spruce and grass. They say this is to be our city. Our land is five and twenty miles up the river. We are to have here only a building lot 40 feet wide and an hundred feet back. Billy has gone on shore in his whale boat to see how it looks. He returns soon, bringing a fine salmon."

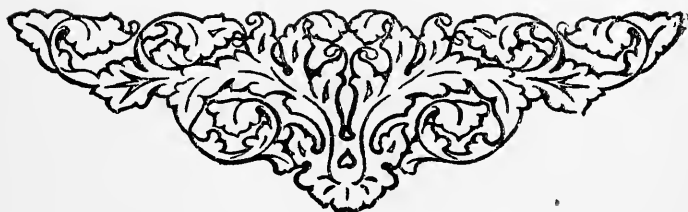
"Sunday, June 29. This morning it looks very pleasant. I am just going on shore with my children. . . . It is now afternoon and I have been on shore. It is, I think, the roughest land I ever saw. We are all ordered to land tomorrow and not a shelter to go under."

Such, in brief, is the simple story told by this good lady. At this time she was a young matron of eight and twenty. Her daughter Hannah, born less than five weeks after her arrival, was the second female child born in Parrtown.

We learn from a "Return of the number of Loyalists gone to St. John's River in Nova Scotia, as pr. returns left in the Commissary General's office in New York," that the number of Loyalists enrolled in the various companies for passage in this fleet was as given below :

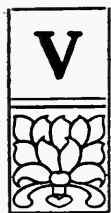
COMPANIES	MEN	WOMEN	CHILDREN	SERVANTS	TOTAL
Capt. S. Whitney, .....	42	27	87	12	168
" J. Goreham,.....	31	20	78	7	136
" H. Thomas,.....	32	26	52	12	122
" J. Forrester.....	51	30	73	31	185
" Thomas Elms.....	30	19	27	45	121
" John Cock.....	32	21	48	10	111
" J. Clark.....	36	25	48	52	161
" James Hoyt.....	42	31	61	85	219
" James Forrester.....	35	25	47	15	122
" O. Bourdet.....	55	36	47	42	180
" A. Dunham,.....	31	19	57	5	112
" Abia Camp, .....	52	36	67	48	203
" P. Berton.....	31	20	51	30	132
Total	500	335	743	394	1972

It is not improbable that some who handed in their names to Brook Watson at the Commisary's office did not actually embark in the fleet, but making reasonable allowance on this score the number of those who came to St. John in the June fleet was not very far short of 2,000 souls. The captains of the companies in which the Loyalists were enrolled were appointed by the Commander in chief, Sir Guy Carleton, and were well known citizens of St. John in early days. Among others who came in this fleet was John Clarke of Rhode Island, who says that at the time of his arrival only two log huts had been erected by the first comers. The government gave him and every other grantee 500 feet of very ordinary boards towards covering their buildings. Mr. Clarke was a sturdy old Loyalist.: he died at St. John in 1853, in his ninety-fourth year, leaving numerous descendants.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

Vessels Continue to Arrive at Parrtown — Loyalists not Permitted to Return to Their Former Homes — The "Fall Fleet" — Loyalist Officers to Retain Their Rank and Receive Half-pay — King's American Dragoons at St. John — Gen. Fox's Tour up the River — Lt. Col. Hewlett Commands Loyal Regiments Leaving New York — Wreck of the Martha — Locations of the Disbanded Troops — They Draw Lots at Parrtown — Awful First Winter at St. Anne's — Conclusion.



VESSELS continued to arrive at Parrtown during the summer of 1783, each with its contingent of loyal exiles. Many of the transports, including the Cyrus, Otter, Sovereign and Bridgewater, made repeated trips during the season. In most instances the kindness and humanity of the Captains earned the grateful acknowledgments of the Loyalists. The following address will suffice for illustration :

"To Capt. WM. STEWART, Ship Sovereign."

"Dear Sir — Your generosity, kindness and attention to us while on board your ship, and assistance lent us on landing our property from on board demand our most warm acknowledgments. Permit us therefore to return you that unfeigned thanks for all your goodness that feeling hearts can ; and as you are about to leave us accept our most sincere wishes for your happiness and

prosperity, and that you may have a safe and easy passage to New York is the sincere wish of, dear Sir,

By request of the Company,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN MENZIES, Capt. 24th Company."

"St. John's River, Aug. 12, 1783."

Very different was the conduct of the Captain of the transport Martha, which will be referred to presently.

The Americans now began to urge upon Sir Guy Carleton the speedy evacuation of New York by the British forces. But Sir Guy was too good a friend of the Loyalists to allow himself to be unduly hurried in the matter. He told them plainly that the violence of the Americans, since the cessation of hostilities, had greatly increased the number of Loyalists who were obliged to look to him for escape from threatened destruction. That their fears had been augmented by the barbarous menaces of Committees formed in various towns, cities and districts, which had threatened dire vengeance to any who ventured back to their former homes. He therefore adds, "I should show an indifference to the feelings of humanity, as well as to the honor and interest of the nation whom I serve, to leave any of the Loyalists that are desirous to quit the country, a prey to the violence they conceive they have so much cause to apprehend."

Sir Guy did his best to facilitate the emigration of all who desired to leave New York, and by his instruction the following notice was published.

"City Hall, New York, August 14, 1783.

"Notice is hereby given to all Loyalists within the lines, desirous to emigrate from this place before the

final Evacuation, that they must give in their Names at the Adjutant-General's Office, on or before the 21st instant, and be ready to embark by the end of this month."

Before the arrival of the date, mentioned in the notice, 6,000 names were entered at the Adjutant-General's office for passages, and the evacuation proceeded as fast as the number of transports would admit. Four weeks later another and more emphatic notice was issued to the effect that the Loyalists were expected to embark on or before the 20th of September, and that those who neglected to embrace the opportunity need not expect to be conveyed at the public expense.

There can be little doubt that many who lingered at New York would gladly have returned to their former places of abode, but the experience of those who attempted it was too discouraging. Here is an instance as described by one of the American "patriots."

"Last week there came one of the dam'd refugees from New York to a place called Wall-Kill, in order to make a tarry with his parents. He was taken into custody immediately his head and eye-brows were shaved — tarred and feathered — a hog yoke put on his neck, and a cow bell thereon; upon his head a very high cap of feathers was set, well plum'd with soft tar and a sheet of paper in front, with a man drawn with two faces, representing Arnold and the Devil's imps; and on the back of it a cow, with the refugee or tory driving her off.'

The forced migration of the Loyalists was a source of much amusement to the whigs of that day. A parody on Hamlet's soliloquy, "To be or not to be," was printed in the New Jersey Journal, under the title, *The Tory's soliloquy*. It begins:

“To go or not to go ; that is the question,  
Whether ' tis best to trust the inclement sky,  
That scowl's indignant, or the dreary bay  
Of Fundy and Cape Sable's rocks and shoals,  
And seek our new domain in Scotia's wilds,  
Barren and bare, or stay among the rebels,  
And by our stay rouse up their keenest rage.”

The statement of Sir Guy Carleton respecting the barbarous menaces of committees and associations, formed in various towns and districts in the United States, against all Loyalists who might attempt to return to their homes is abundantly confirmed by documentary evidence even at this distant day. We quote two instances only :

“We the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the 5th regiment of Delaware militia, in the County of Kent, do hereby agree to expel all refugees from this and every other part of the United States ; and if any of those miscreants, whom we are obliged to consider as worse than robbers or even common murderers, shall be found among us, we do pledge ourselves by the sacred ties of honour to be united, and stand by each other in expelling them from among us by those powers which nature has given us.”

The town of Philadelphia adopted the following resolution : “That the people of this town will at all times, as they have ever done, to the utmost of their power oppose every enemy to the just rights and liberties of mankind : That after so wicked a conspiracy against those rights and liberties by certain ingrates, most of them natives of these States, and who have been refugees and declared traitors to their country, it is the

opinion of this town that they ought never to be suffered to return, but be excluded from having lot or portion among us. And the Committee of Correspondence is hereby requested to write to the several towns in this Commonwealth and desire them to come into the same or similar resolves if they shall think fit."

We have now to consider the circumstances under which the "Fall Fleet" came to St. John.

After the cessation of hostilities, the violent temper manifested by the victorious Americans caused the officers of the Loyalist regiments to lay their case before Sir Guy Carleton in a letter dated March 14, 1783, in which they state, "That from the purest principles of loyalty and attachment to the British government they took up arms in his Majesty's service, and relying on the justice of their cause and the support of their Sovereign and the British nation, they have persevered with unabated zeal through all the vicissitudes of a calamitous and unfortunate war. \* \* \* \* That whatever stipulations may be made at the peace for the restoration of the property of the Loyalists and permission for them to return home, yet, should the American Provinces be severed from the British Empire, it will be impossible for those who have served his Majesty in arms in this war to remain in the country. The personal animosities arising from civil dissensions have been so heightened by the blood that has been shed in the contest that the parties can never be reconciled." The letter goes on to speak of personal sacrifices made; of the anxiety felt for the future of wives and children; of the fidelity of the troops, who in the course of the contest had shown a degree of patience, fortitude and bravery almost without example; and of the great number of men incapacitated

by wounds, many having helpless families who had seen better days; they therefore request:—

“That grants of land may be made to them in some of his Majesty’s American Provinces and that they may be assisted in making settlements, in order that they and their children may enjoy the benefit of British government.

“That some permanent provision may be made for such of the non-commissioned officers and privates as have been disabled by wounds, and for the widows and orphans of deceased officers and soldiers.

“That as a reward for their services the rank of the officers be made permanent in America, and that they be entitled to half pay upon the reduction of their regiments.”

This letter was signed by the commanders of fourteen Loyalist regiments.

The application of the officers was eventually complied with although there was some opposition in parliament when the Secretary of War proposed to place the Loyalist regiments upon the British establishment. In the course of the debate that followed Secretary Townsend said that it was only fair that those who had fought the nation’s battles and risked both life and property in the war should have some recompence. Sir P. F. Clarke expressed his dissatisfaction at the idea of putting the “Provincials” on the establishment to the prejudice, as he claimed, of many of the officers of the British army. “By such a measure some of the Provincial officers would soon be promoted to the staff over the heads of many of our own Colonels,” said he, “and we may soon hear of a Major General Simcoe, a Major General Fanning, etc., though those gentlemen have no rank in England.”

In reply the Secretary of war expressed his surprise that any opposition should be made to placing the Provincial regiments on the establishment. Those troops once put upon the establishment, the officers would of course become entitled to rank and half-pay ; and as the nation would be under the necessity of making some provision for those gallant Loyalists, he thought half pay more decent and much more eligible than a pension. As to the idea of Col. Simcoe being made a Major General, he believed that when such an event should take place the army would not be displeased at it ; for a better officer or a better man did not exist in the service.

General Smith did not object to half-pay, only to rank being given to the Provincials. Mr. Onslow made a motion in opposition to continuing the rank of Provincial officers on a par with those of the British line. This was seconded by Sir Cecil Wray, who expressed his surprise that such a thing should be thought of.

The House divided on the motion. Ayes 37. Noes 76. Majority for giving rank to the Loyalist officers 39. This vote caused considerable discussion in England.

On the arrival of his Majesty's instructions relative to the disposal of the troops at New York, dated the 9th of June, the principal Loyalist regiments were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Nova Scotia, where on their arrival they were to be disbanded. The corps included in the order were the King's American Regiment, Queens Rangers, British Legion, New York Volunteers, New Jersey Volunteers, Loyal American Regiment, De Lancey's Brigade, Prince of Wales American Regiment, Pennsylvania Loyalists, Maryland Loyalists, Loyal American Legion, Kings American Dragoons and one or two others.

Before the royal orders and instructions reached America the King's American Dragoons arrived at St. John under the command of Major Daniel Murray. They encamped at Manawagonish expecting to settle in the Township of Conway. On the 6th of July, Col. Edward Winslow wrote to Major Upham of the corps (who was in New York acting as an aide-de-camp to Sir Guy Carleton): "I am gratified excessively at the situation and behaviour of your regiment. I never saw more cheerfulness and good humor than appears among the men. They are encamped on one of the pleasantest spots I ever beheld, and they are enjoying a great variety of what you New Yorkers call luxuries, such as partridges, salmon, bass, trout, pigeons, etc. The whole regiment are this day employed in cutting and clearing a road to the river, and Major Murray and I intend to ride tomorrow where man never rode before."

The day following Winslow writes to Ward Chipman, "I am at present at Murray's head quarters in a township which we shall lay out for the provincials, and we have already cut a road from his camp to the river, about three miles. We cut yesterday, with about 120 men, more than a mile through a forest hitherto deemed impenetrable. When we emerged from it there opened a prospect superior to anything in the world I believe. A magnificent view of the immense Bay of Fundy on the one side, and a very extensive view of the River St. John, with the Falls, Grand Bay and Islands, on the other: in front the Fort, which is a beautiful object on a high hill, and all the settlements about the town, with the ships, boats, etc., in the harbor — 'twas positively the most magnificent and romantic scene I ever beheld."

The view from Lancaster Heights that delighted

Colonel Winslow proves of equal charm to the tourists of the present generation,

The stay of the King's American Dragoons at "Camp Manawagonish" was brief, for about the end of August they were sent up the St. John river to be disbanded in what is now the Parish of Prince William, where many of their descendants are to be found at the present day. The commander of the regiment was the celebrated Sir Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford, who did not come to New Brunswick. Other officers of the corps were prominent in our local affairs. Major Upham was a judge of the supreme court; Major Murray was a member of the House of Assembly for York County; Chaplain Odell was for years Provincial Secretary; Surgeon Paddock was both a leading physician and the progenitor of a long line of descendants who have practiced the healing art; Lieut. John Davidson was a member for York County in the provincial legislature and a leading land surveyor in the early days of the country; Lieut. Simeon Jones was the ancestor of Simeon Jones, ex-mayor of St. John, and his well known family; Quarter master Edward Sands was a leading merchant of St. John; Cornet Arthur Nicholson was a prominent man on the upper St. John in early times as commander of the military post at Presquile.

After the preliminaries of peace were signed in 1782, no attempt was made to maintain the normal strength of the Loyalist Regiments. They were at this time considerably reduced in numbers. Many had fallen on the field of battle, more had died of wounds and exposure, many had died of disease and some were prisoners with the enemy. When it was realized that the war was over no serious effort was made to prevent

the non-commissioned officers and men from taking "French leave," and a good many left the service without the formality of a discharge. Those who did so were of course marked on the roll as "deserters" and most of them no doubt returned to their former places of abode. Some of the troops were discharged in due form at New York. Consequently when the regiments sailed for St. John they were reduced to about one fourth of their original strength.

The Royal Instructions for disbanding did not reach New York until August but, in the meantime, Lieutenant Colonels Edward Winslow, Isaac Allen and Stephen de Lancey were sent to Nova Scotia to explore and locate lands for the accommodation of their comrades in arms. The general plan of settlement was suggested by Sir Guy Carleton in a letter of the 26th of April in which he expresses the opinion that the disbanded troops should be disposed like the cantonments of an army along a frontier to serve as a bulwark against any possible invasion from the United States, the allotments to be by corps and as contiguous as possible to each other and that in the allotments the officers be interspersed among the men so that the settlers may thereby be united and in case of attack the colony may be defended by those who have been accustomed to bear arms and serve together. According to Edward Winslow's statement, the River St. John was fixed upon as the only convenient situation where there was a tract of vacant land sufficiently extensive for the purpose. By Winslow's solicitations at Halifax authority was at length obtained to lay out blocks of land for the several regiments. These blocks were afterwards known as "the twelve mile tracts." They began at Fredericton

and extended up the river as far, probably, as the mouth of the Tobique.

Governor Parr was not much in favor of sending the disbanded troops to the River St. John. He wrote to Sir Guy Carleton in July that Lt. Col. deLancey wished to settle them on the Saint John: "If so," he says, "they must be content to commence their settlement 140 miles from the mouth of the river, where the ungranted lands begin, otherwise they must be provided for elsewhere." He says again, "I greatly fear the soil and fertility of that part of the province is over-rated by people who have explored it partially. I wish it may turn out otherwise, but have my fears that there is scarce good land enough for those already sent there. If all the Provincial Corps go am certain there will not, which was the reason for my recommending the eastern side of the St. Croix river to your Excellency." Probably Edward Winslow had more to do than any other man in determining the place of settlement of the Loyal Regiments, and he certainly knew more of the valley of the St. John than did Governor Parr, who never visited it.

About the time the regiments were ready to sail from New York, General Fox, who commanded in Nova Scotia, notified Governor Parr that it was necessary at once to determine the district to be assigned to each of the corps so that on their arrival they might be sent to their destinations. On the 16th September General Fox and his military secretary, Edward Winslow, left for St. John to make a personal examination of the lands and to arrange with Major Studholme for their reception. While he was up the river on this tour of exploration General Fox wrote an interesting letter to General Haldimand, the

Governor of Quebec, which, with a little abbreviation, is here given :

Augh Pack, Sep'r 28, 1783.

Sir, — Being on a tour on the River St. John's and a convenient opportunity offering I avail myself of it to acquaint your Excellency that the whole of the Provincial Regiments, consisting of upwards of 3,000 men, are embarked for the River St. John's, where they are to become settlers, and a tract of land is assigned them by his Excellency the Governor of this Province extending from the Townships of Manguerville and Burton on both sides of the river on the route to Canada, so far as to accommodate the whole which will be a considerable distance. This circumstance will facilitate the communication between the provinces of Nova Scotia and Canada, an object which I am informed your Excellency is anxious to effect and which it is very evident must greatly contribute to the benefit of both provinces.

[ Signed ]            H. E. Fox, Brig, Gen'l

The number of those who arrived at St. John in the Fall Fleet, is commonly stated to have been about three thousand souls. The returns of the Commissary general's office show that up to the 12th of October as many as 3,396 persons connected with the Loyalist regiments had sailed to the River St. John, viz., 1826 men, 563 women, 696 children and 311 servants. The following summer an enumeration was made by Thomas Knox of the disbanded troops settled on the St. John river. His return for the Loyalist regiments gives a total of 3,520 persons, viz., 1877 men, 585 women, 865 children and 193 servants. This does not differ very materially from the other return.

The official correspondence of Sir Guy Carleton contains a pretty full account of the circumstances that attended the departure of the Loyalist regiments and their subsequent arrival at St. John. During the summer months they had been encamped near Newtown, Long Island, a short distance from Brooklyn Ferry. They embarked on the 3rd of September, and Sir Guy wrote to General Fox that he hoped they would sail on the 7th, but unforeseen delays prevented their departure until some days later. The command of the troops devolved on Lieut. Col. Richard Hewlett, of the 3d battalion of De Lancey's Brigade, Lieut. Col. Gabriel De Veber, of the Prince of Wales American Regiment, being second in command.

Sir Guy Carleton's instructions to Lieut. Col. Hewlett, are contained in the following letter.

“New York, September 12, 1783.

“Sir — You are to take command of the British American Troops which are to proceed to the River St. John's in the Bay of Fundy in Nova Scotia. On your arrival there you will see that the stores intended for them are duly delivered, and you will take such steps as shall be necessary for the several corps proceeding immediately to the places allotted for their settlement, where they are to be disbanded on their arrival, provided it does not exceed the 20th of October, on which day Captain Prevost, deputy inspector of British American Forces, has directions to disband them. You will give directions to the officer commanding each corps that in case of separation they will proceed on their arrival at the River St. John's in forwarding their respective troops to the place of destination. The disembarkation

of the troops must not on any account be delayed, as the transports must return to this Port with all possible dispatch. Directions have been given to Mr. Colville, assistant agent of all small craft at the River St. John, to afford every assistance in his power to the corps in getting to their places of destination, and the commanding officers will make application to him for that purpose.

( Signed ) GUY CARLETON.

The perils of navigation are seen in the disaster that befell the transport ship *Martha*, one of the vessels of the fleet. The ships sailed from Sandy Hook about the 15th of September and all went well until they arrived off the south-west coast of Nova Scotia. Here the *Martha* was wrecked on a ledge near the Seal Islands, afterwards called "Soldier's Ledge." She had on board 174 persons, including many of the Maryland Loyalists and part of Lieutenant-Colonel Hewlett's battalion ; 99 souls perished and 75 were saved by fishing boats. According to the account given by Captain Kennedy of the Maryland Loyalists the accident was due to gross neglect on the part of the master of the ship. He left New York with an old set of sails and had not above twelve men and boys to work the ship. As he reported the previous evening that he had seen land, everyone imagined he would lay to during the night, the weather being tempestous. While the crew were engaged in rigging and setting up a new main-topsail, to replace one that had gone to pieces early in the night, the ship struck on the rocks. The long-boat was smashed by the fall of the mainmast. The captain gave orders to launch the jolly boat and to the surprise of everybody,

he having repeatedly proclaimed that he would be one of the last to leave the ship, he jumped into her as she went over the side, rowed to the cutter which had been previously launched, got into her and inhumanly pushed off for the shore. The empty Jolly boat was turned adrift in full view of the unhappy people on board, the master turning a deaf ear to the solicitations of Captain Kennedy, who begged him to pull in toward the stern, in order to discuss some means of saving the lives of the passengers.

Another account of this tragedy is preserved in a letter of Lieut. Michael Laffan, of Colonel Hewlett's battalion, to his brother, written at St. John on the 11th of October in which he says, "Yesterday evening I had the good fortune to arrive at this place. On the 25th of September, about 4 o'clock in the morning, the "Martha" struck against a rock off the Tusket River and was in the course of a few hours wrecked in a thousand pieces. I had the good fortune to get upon a piece of the wreck with three more officers, viz., Lieut. Henley, Lieut. Sterling, Dr. Stafford, and two soldiers (all of the Maryland Loyalists) and floated on it two days and two nights up to near our waists in water, during which time Lieut. Sterling and one of the soldiers died. On the third day we drifted to an island where we lived without fire, water, victuals or clothing, except the remnants of what we had on, about one quart of water per man (which we sipped from the cavities in the rocks) and a few raspberries and snails. On the seventh day we were espied and taken up by a Frenchman, that was out a fowling, who took us to his house and treated us with every kindness. We staid with him six days and then proceeded to a place called Cape-

Pursue, where we met with Captain Kennedy and about fifty of both regiments, who were saved at sea by some fishing boats, about 36 hours from the time the vessel was wrecked. Capt. Doughty, Lieut. McFarlane, Mrs. McFarlane and Ensign Montgomery perished."

The fleet which carried the Loyalist Regiments to St. John arrived on the 27th of September and three days later the troops disembarked and encamped above the Falls near the Indian House from whence Col. Hewlett intended they should proceed with all possible expedition up the river. The season was already far advanced and there was no time to lose, but Hewlett in his first letter to Sir Guy Carleton expresses his fear that the want of small craft will greatly delay their progress. He writes again on the 13th of October to inform Sir Guy that the troops had been disbanded by Major Prevost and were getting up the river as fast as the scarcity of small craft for conveying them would admit.

A very serious situation now arose. Lands had been reserved for the Provincial troops, but no proper survey had been made and officers and men alike were in a state of perplexity. We get a glimpse of the situation in the following passage in one of Edward Winslow's letters to Ward Chipman.

"I saw all those Provincial Regiments, which we have so frequently mustered, landing in this inhospitable climate, in the month of October, without shelter and without knowing where to find a place to reside. The chagrin of the officers was not to me so truly affecting as the poignant distress of the men. Those respectable sergeants of Robinson's, Ludlow's, Cruger's, Fanning's — once hospitable yeoman of the Country — addressed me in language which almost murdered me as I heard it.

“ Sir, we have served all the war, your honor is witness how faithfully. We were promised land ; we expected you had obtained it for us. We like the country — only let us have a spot to call our own.”

A plan of the river had been prepared by the Surveyor General of Nova Scotia in which the blocks of land reserved appear. These were numbered and drawn for by the various regiments soon after their arrival, but the lines had not been run, nor were the lots laid out for individual settlers.

The general location of the tracts marked out for the regiments was as follows :

Maryland Loyalists, in the Parish of St. Marys.

New Jersey Volunteers, in the Parish of Kingsclear.

New York Volunteers, on the Keswick Stream.

Royal Guides and Pioneers, Bright and Queensbury.

King's American Dragoons, Parish of Prince William.

Queen's Rangers, in the Parish of Queensbury.

King's American Regiment, Parish of Canterbury.

Pennsylvania Loyalists, Parish of Southampton.

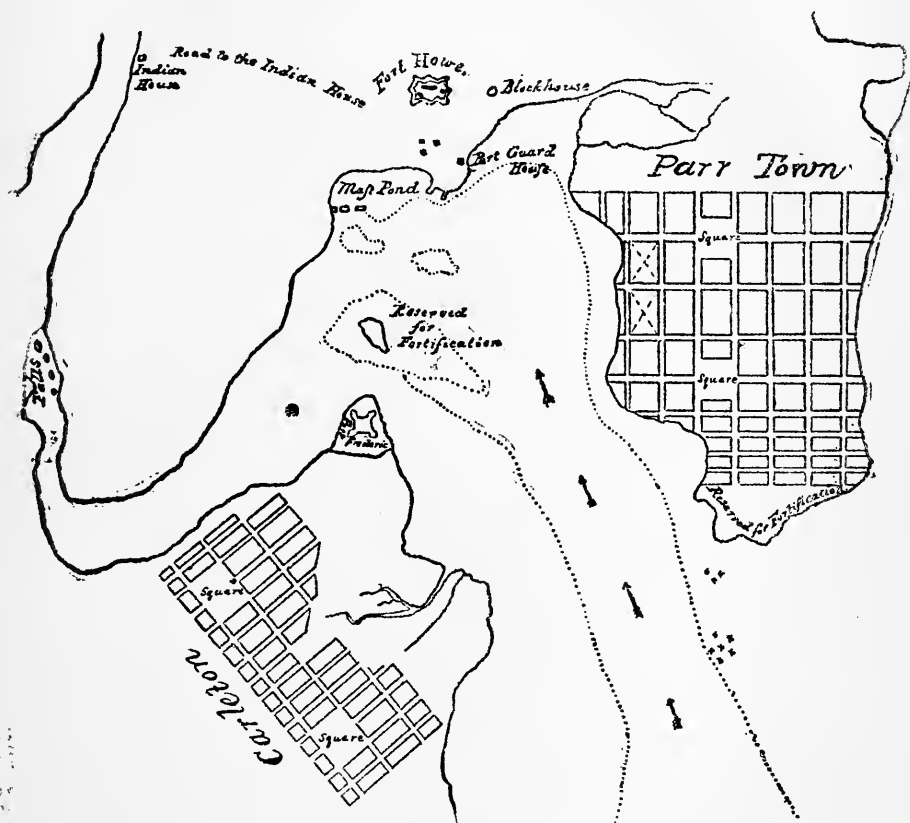
De Lancey's 1st Battalion, Parish of Woodstock.

De Lancey's 2nd Battalion, Parish of Northampton.

Still farther up the river were the blocks drawn by Arnold's American Legion, the Prince of Wales American Regiment, the 3d New Jersey Volunteers, the Loyal American Regiment and the 1st New Jersey Volunteers. These corps considered their lands too remote to make any attempt to settle them. The northern limit of the locations seems to have been near the Tobique and Aroostook rivers.

The season was so far advanced when the troops arrived at Parr-town that the difficulty of transport, combined with uncertainty as to location, led many of

the disbanded soldiers to pass the winter at the mouth of the river. Rev. John Sayre, speaks of a vast multitude at St. John whom he found unsettled, many



PLAN OF PARRTOWN AND CARLETON.

of them unsheltered and on the brink of despair on account of the delay in allotting their lands to them. Meanwhile Parr-town had been laid out by Paul Bedell, the deputy surveyor, and many of the disbanded officers

and men drew town lots in the "Lower Cove" district, upon which they spent the winter. A careful examination of the list of the grantees of Parrtown will show that the lots as drawn by the officers and soldiers of the different regiments fall into groups. The lots drawn by the men of the Queen's Rangers, for example, are where the St. John gas works stand. The men of deLancey's 1st battalion drew their lots at the east end of Britain and Broad Streets, near the Old Ladies' Home, and the men of the 42nd Highlanders at the east end of Union Street.

The disbanded soldiers who drew lots at Parrtown spent their first winter in rude huts, some of them in canvas tents on the Barrack square. They thatched the tents with spruce boughs, brought in boats from Partridge Island, and banked them with snow. Owing to the cold weather and the coarseness of the provisions, salt meat, etc., the women and children suffered severely and numbers died. They were buried in the old graveyard near the present deep water terminus of the Intercolonial railway.

The last of the transports from New York arrived in December and in addition to her passengers, mostly women and children, brought a supply of clothing and provisions. The officer in charge was Lieut. John Ward of the Loyal American Regiment, grandfather of Clarence Ward, President of the New Brunswick Historical Society. There was not time to build even a hut, Mr. Ward was obliged to spend his first winter under canvas and his son, John Ward, jr., was born in a tent on the Barrack square in the month of December.

A good many men of the 3d New Jersey Volunteers and of the King's American Regiment pushed up the

river to St. Anne's, where they passed a calamitous winter in huts or tents. Others found shelter in the houses of the "old inhabitants" at various places along the river.

Our first historian, Peter Fisher, gives a very good description of the experience of the founders of Fredericton :

"Scarcely had they begun to construct their cabins, when they were surprised by the rigors of an untried climate, their habitations being enveloped in snow before they were tenantable. The privations and sufferings of some of these people almost exceed belief. Frequently in the piercing cold of winter, a part of the family had to remain up during the night to keep fire in their huts to prevent the other part from freezing. Some very destitute families made use of boards to supply the want of bedding ; the father or some of the elder children remaining up by turns and warming two suitable pieces of boards, which they applied alternately to the smaller children to keep them warm, with many similar expedients."

The awfulness of the situation may be readily imagined. Women, delicately reared, cared for their infants beneath canvas tents, rendered habitable only by the banks of snow which lay six feet deep in the open spaces of the forest. Men, unaccustomed to toil, looked with dismay at the prospect before them. The non-arrival of supplies expected before the close of navigation added much to their distress. At one time starvation stared them in the face, and, as one who passed through the sorrowful experience of that time has said, "strong proud men cried like children, and, exhausted by cold and famine, lay down in their snow bound tents to die."

These poor settlers had to make frequent trips of from fifty to one hundred miles with handsleds or toboggans, through pathless woods and on the ice, to procure a precarious supply of food for their famishing families.

Among those who settled at St. Anne's at this time was Lodewick Fisher, who had seen nearly seven years service in Colonel Van Buskirk's battalion of the New Jersey Volunteers. Mr. Fisher came to St. John in the ship *Esther*, accompanied by his wife and three children, all of them born on Staten Island during the war. Peter, the youngest of the trio, was only 16 months old at the time of his arrival and of course had no personal knowledge of the experience of the first winter, but in his little history he has given some recollections of his elders that are of great interest. The eldest son of Peter Fisher, the Hon. Charles Fisher, attorney general of the province and later a judge of the supreme court, was one of the fathers of Responsible Government.

Mrs. Lodewick Fisher used to relate to her grandchildren that soon after the arrival of the regiments at St. John, her family joined a party bound up the river in a schooner to St. Anne's. In eight days they got as far as Oromocto, where they were landed by the captain, who refused to proceed further on account of the lateness of the season. He charged them four dollars each for their passage. The night was spent on shore and the next day the women and children proceeded to St. Anne's in Indian canoes, the others coming on foot. On the 8th of October they reached their destination, and pitched their tents at Salamanca, near the shore. Before any effectual steps had been taken to provide a shelter, winter was at hand. Snow fell on the 2nd November to the depth of six inches. The best that

some of the unfortunate people could do was to pitch their tents in the depths of the forest. Stones formed their rude fire place. The tent had no floor but the ground. The winter was cold, but the deep snow afforded some protection. Still it was an awful winter. There were mothers who had been reared in a pleasant country, enjoying the luxuries of life, who now clasped their helpless little ones to their bosoms and tried by the warmth of their own bodies to protect them from the bitter cold. Many of the weaker ones died from cold and exposure. Graves were dug with axes and shovels near by, and there in stormy wintry weather, the survivors laid their loved ones without any religious service for they had no clergyman. The burial ground at Salamanca continued to be used for some years and was called "the Loyal Provincials' burial ground."

This old burial ground is on the Ketchum place just below the town. Some of the older citizens of Fredericton remember when there were old head boards at the graves since fallen into decay. Many names painted or carved on them served to show the Dutch ancestry of the men of Van Buskirk's battalion. The names were such as Van Horn, Vanderbeck, Ackermann, Burkstaff, Ridner, Handorff, Van Norden and Ryerson.

As soon as the snow was off the ground the people at Salamanca began to build log houses, but were obliged to desist for lack of provisions and were forced for a time to live after the Indian fashion. They made maple sugar, dug edible roots, caught fish, shot partridges and pigeons and hunted moose. In their distress they were gladdened by the discovery of some large patches of beans that were growing wild. The beans were white marked with a black cross, and had probably been planted by

the French. Mrs. Fisher says, "We used to call them, the Loyal Provincials' bread, but some called them the staff of life and hope of the starving." There was great rejoicing when a schooner arrived with corn-meal and rye.

During the summer all hands united in building their houses. They had few tools except the axe and saw. They had neither bricks nor lime and their chimneys and fire places were built of stone laid in yellow clay. The walls of the houses were of logs, the roofs of bark bound over with small poles. The windows had only four small panes of glass. The first house finished was that of Dr. Earle, whose services were of the utmost value to the small community. Colonel Hewlett's house was built where the Barker House stands on Queen street. The old veteran accompanied his comrades as appears from an affidavit, made before Major Studholme at St. Anne's on the 13th of October, stating that in the wreck of the Martha he had lost all he possessed, his stores, tools, baggage and property to the value of two hundred pounds sterling.

Colonel Hewlett was born in Hampstead, Queens County, on Long Island, N. Y., and died at Hampstead, Queens County, in New Brunswick in 1789 in his sixtieth year. He was a brave and capable officer and a man held in the highest regard.

We cannot at this time follow further the fortunes of the Loyalists. Their privations and toils were not in vain. History is beginning to do them justice even in the adjoining republic. Their attitude during the Revolutionary epoch is getting to be better understood, and their merits and self sacrifice are beginning to be acknowledged by broad minded and impartial students.

of history in the United States. The late Professor Moses Coit Tyler, of the University of Cornell, gave it as his opinion, "That the side of the Loyalists, as they called themselves, of the Tories, as they were scornfully nick-named by their opponents, was even in argument not a weak one, and in motive and sentiment not a base one, and in devotion and self-sacrifice not an unheroic one." These sentiments were still more emphatically expressed by Dr. Tyler on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the University of New Brunswick a few years ago, on which occasion he said :

"We Americans here today wish to express our friendship toward you, not only on account of yourselves and the good work you are doing, but also on account of those noble men and women, your ancestors, who founded this Province of New Brunswick, this town of Fredericton, and this University which is the crown and glory of both. We remember what sort of men and women they were — their sincerity, their devotion to principle in defiance of loss and pain, their courage, their perseverance, their clear prevision of the importance of race unity. So, very honestly, with all our hearts we greet you as a kindred people, many of you of the same colonial lineage with ourselves, having many things in your public and private experience identical with our own, still bound to us by antique and indestructible bonds of fellowship in faith, in sympathy, in aspiration, in humane effort, all coincident with the beginnings of civilization itself in that fast-anchored isle beyond the sea, which is the beloved mother of us all.

"If between your ancestors and ours, on opposite sides of the old Revolutionary dispute a century and a quarter ago, there were many and bitter years of unfriendly

tradition, we, on our part, are glad to think that such tradition lives no longer ; that in the broad-minded view which time and the better understanding of our own history have brought us, the coming years are to witness a renewal and a permanent relation of good-will and mutual help, which bound together the earlier generations of our common race on this continent."

With these kindly words every generous soul amongst the descendants of the Loyalists will heartily agree, and yet we say, all honor to those who sacrificed so much and suffered so severely for the cause of a United Empire, and whose hands in later years laid strong and deep the foundations of our Canadian Dominion.

THE END.



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